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A MEMOIR OF MATTHEW BAILLIE

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A MEMOIR OF MATTHEW BAILLIE

Robert Ian Finkel, A. B.
Brown University, 1961

Thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Medicine

Department of the History of Medicine
Yale University School of Medicine
1965

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This thesis is dedicated

to

T.R.F. and P.A.S.

PREFACE

Although Matthew Baillie is a well-known figure in English medicine, an adequate account of his life has never been written. This thesis was undertaken with the aim of attempting to fill this gap. An attempt has also been made to evaluate Baillie's contributions to morbid anatomy and to nineteenth-century English medicine and to determine what factors influenced Baillie to adopt the unique approach to morbid anatomy that he did.

During the summer of 1963, this project was supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service and Yale University School of Medicine. During the summer of 1964, a grant from The Wellcome Trust and a fellowship from the Logan Clendening Foundation at the University of Kansas enabled the author to continue his research in the United Kingdom.

I should like to express my deepest appreciation to the following individuals for their kindness and invaluable assistance while I was in the United Kingdom: Mr. W. R. Le Fanu, Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons of England; Mr. L. M. Payne, Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians of London; Mr. E. Gaskell, Sub-librarian of the Wellcome Medical Historical Library; Dr. George Edwards, Archivist of St. George's Hospital, Hyde Park Corner; Mr. R. O. Mackenna, Librarian of the University of Glasgow; Mrs. I. Richmond of the Balliol College Library; and the Reverend Mr. Andrew Meek, Minister of the Kirk of Shotts, Lanarkshire.

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CHAPTER I

THE EARLY YEARS

In the eighteenth century, English medicine was influenced considerably by the emigration to London of a small group of Scotsmen, among whom were William Smellie, William Hunter, William Pitcairn, William C. Cruikshank, David Pitcairn, and John Hunter. Another Scottish émigré who achieved an honored place in London medicine in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was Matthew Baillie, a nephew of William and John Hunter.

Matthew Baillie was born October 27, 1761, in the manse of Shotts, Lanarkshire, near the banks of the River Clyde. He was the third child of the Reverend James Baillie, the minister of the Kirk of Shotts, and Dorothea Baillie. William, the first born, died during infancy in 1760; Agnes was born September 24, 1760; and Joanna was born September 11, 1762. [1]

Dorothea Baillie, a sister of William and John Hunter, was said to be descended from the Hunters of Hunterston, an ancient and respected family in Ayrshire. Her great grandfather, according to an account written by Joanna Baillie, was a younger son of the laird of Hunterston and was

---

[1] George C. Peachey, A Memoir of William and John Hunter (Plymouth: William Brendon & Son, Ltd., 1924), p. 253. According to Peachey, Joanna had a twin sister who died a few hours after birth (Ibid.).

". . . obliged from some domestic unhappiness to leave his home at an early age . . ." without patrimony.[2] According to Agnes Baillie, however, ". . . the Laird from which our immediate Ancestor sprung had been 3 times married and had a Family by all his Wives; our immediate branch came from a second son of the first marriage, so that except the eldest son, who by entail inherited the landed property, all the rest were obliged to shift for themselves."[3] James Baillie was said to be descended from Sir William Wallace, the thirteenth century Scottish general and patriot, and from Robert Baillie, the seventeenth century Scottish patriot who is known as Baillie of Jerviswood.[4]

In "Some Short Memoranda of My Life," Matthew Baillie described his father as ". . . a man of the most respectable character, of excellent understanding, of polish'd and dignified manners, and of a highly cultivated mind. . ." and his mother as ". . . a woman of excellent sense, of a mild temper, with the manners, and very much the appearance of a Lady."[5]

---

[2] Royal College of Surgeons of England, The Hunter-Baillie Collection, Vol. VI, p. 22, side 1, and p. 26, side 1. Hereafter cited as R.C.S., H.B.C.

[3] Stephen Paget, John Hunter: Man of Science and Surgeon (1728-1793) (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898), p. 33.

[4] Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. I, p. 886.

[5] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda of My Life," pp. 1-2. This is the manuscript autobiography of Baillie, which will be hereafter cited as "Some Short Memorand."

Little is known of Matthew Baillie's very early years. Soon after his birth, the family moved to Bothwell, where James Baillie had been appointed minister; Joanna was born in Bothwell in September of 1762. Subsequently, the Reverend Baillie became minister of Hamilton, also in Lanarkshire.

Before young Baillie was five years old, he was sent to the English School at Hamilton where he was taught writing and arithmetic by the schoolmaster, Mr. Allen, who was married to his father's sister, and by a Mr. Telfair, who became schoolmaster upon Mr. Allen's death. After two years at the English School, Matthew transferred to the Latin School in Hamilton, where he remained for six years.

> The Master of the School was named Whale. He was a man of quick parts, of various knowledge, and with a considerable turn for humour. He was an excellent Latin Scholar, but was not very thoroughly acquainted with the Greek, although he had enough of the latter language for the credible teaching of his School. I was there taught both Latin and Greek, and was consider'd as a good Scholar. I was most commonly at the head of my class, but this arose entirely out of my emulation and industry. There were several boys in the School of better Parts than myself, but they had less diligence. When I left the School the first thing I did was to prepare myself for the lessions [sic] of the next day. When this was done, I played with all the wildness and spirit of

Boys at that early age. [6]

Just before his thirteenth birthday, Baillie matriculated at Glasgow College. [7] He attended Glasgow College for five sessions from 1774 to 1779. While at the University Baillie continued his study of Greek and Latin and ". . . went through a full system of Classical and Philosophical education. . . ." [8]

It is difficult to interpret what Baillie meant by a "full system." At the time he attended Glasgow, the Faculty of Arts consisted of professorships in Humanity (Latin), Mathematics, Oriental Languages, Greek, Logic, and Natural Philosophy. [9] In addition, there were chairs of Medicine, Anatomy, Practical Astronomy, Divinity, Law, Ecclesiastical History, and Moral Philosophy as well as lecturers in Botany, Chemistry, and Materia Medica. [10] He undoubtedly took Greek, Latin, French, and mathematics and probably also logic, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy.

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[6] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," pp. 3-4.

[7] Upon his entrance to Glasgow College, the following entry was made in the matriculation album: "Mattheus Baillie natus in parochia de Shots Filius Unicus Jacobi reverendi admodum Viri Pastoris apud Hamilton." The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858 (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1913), p. 107.

[8] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 4.

[9] David Murray, Memoirs of the Old College of Glasgow: Some Chapters in the History of the University (Glasgow: Jackson Wylie and Co., 1927), pp. 64-65.

[10] John D. Comrie, History of Scottish Medicine (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 2nd ed., 1932), I, p. 359

In late October of 1775, Baillie began his second term at the College. A few weeks later, on November 13, his father was appointed Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow to succeed Dr. Robert Trail, who had died in October. [11]

Later, upon recalling his student days at Glasgow, Baillie wrote: "The Professors in the various departments were men of considerable eminence, were exceedingly attentive to their duties, and had the power of exciting great emulation among the student." [12]

While at Glasgow, Baillie applied himself to his studies with all the diligence and industry which his father had admonished him were necessary for success in life. In addition to the supervision by his scholarly father, Matthew's education was also subjected to the careful scrutiny of his illustrious uncle, Dr. William Hunter. In a letter from Long Calderwood dated June 16, 1777, James Baillie wrote to William Hunter:

> I want proper terms to express the sensations of gratitude with which your goodness in paying so much attention to the education of my Son has excited in my breast. I hope you shall afterwards have the pleasure of seeing him deserving of it. I approve of your method of directing his studies & shall follow it. He has been employed for several hours every day, since we retired to the

---

[11] See Appendix I, p. 102.

[12] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 5.

> country, in reading some of the best latin and Greek Historians and in translating English into latin. I have it much at heart that he should not only read the Greek with facility and a critical eye, but also write the latin with classical purity.[13]

During his fourth session at the College, young Baillie suffered the loss of his father, for on April 28, 1778, Professor James Baillie died. Soon after this, on May 6, 1778, Dr. Thomas Reid, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow and a friend and colleague of Reverend Baillie, wrote a letter of condolence to William Hunter.

> I cannot help condoling with you the loss of our worthy Friend Dr Baillie. His Family deserve great Sympathy. Mrs Baillie is one of the best of women, & the children all very hopefull [sic]. Matthew has all along given uncommon application to his Studies. I hope he wil have the first **Bal**iol Exhibition that falls, which is expected very soon; & as he intends the Medical Profession, that he will have opportunity to attend your Instruction while he enjoys it. This, his Father told me, was what he had in view for him. . . .[14]

The "Baliol Exhibition" referred to by Professor Reid was a

---

[13] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. I, Letter #7, side 2.

[14] *Ibid.*, Letter #74, side 1.

scholarship established by John Snell in 1677 to send deserving Scottish undergraduates to Balliol College, Oxford.[15]

After his father's death, Baillie's education came under the complete supervision of his uncle William. It would be more accurate to say that Baillie followed his uncle's educational suggestions. The suggestions were sound; in addition, he recognized that William Hunter ". . . was the Relation who had it most in his power to be useful . . . with regard to . . . future prospects. . . ."[16] This was a determing factor in Baillie's decision to enter the medical profession, for as he freely admitted, "I had no strong liking for this Profession, as happens to some Individuals, but I had no dislike to it, and I enter'd upon it willingly."[17] All this is not to say, however, that he was not a respectful, dutiful, and grateful nephew; there is much to affirm that he was an nothing to suggest the contrary.

Young Baillie began to write to his uncle William regularly, informing him of his educational efforts and progress and relaying family news.

> Dear Sir,
>
> I thank you for the care you are pleased to take of my education. I have endeavoured to conduct myself according to your directions, as nearly as was in my power.

---

[15] See Appendix II, p. 108.

[16] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 6.

[17] *Ibid.*

My Chief Studies are still the Latin, Greek & French Languages. I would wish to make myself as complete in these as possible. You have mentioned in your letter that I should likewise become acquainted with the Italian Language. I would wish much to do so, but it is not in any person's power at Glasgow. There is no Person to teach it, except the Professor of the Oriental Languages, who will not do it unless he gets as many as students as will constitute a Class. The number necessary is only five (& I have endeavoured as much as I could to muster up that number) yet it is wonderful that there are not five persons in the College of Glasgow who wish to study the Italian Language. You have likewise mentioned that in studying the Languages, I should pay attention to the Quantitys [singular and plural?] . It is still shamefully neglected in Scotland. We scarce know what is meant by Quantitys. Since you wrote me, I have been paying attention to it, & yet after all I shall be found very deficient. The Study of Mathematics you would likewise wish me to prosecute. I am endeavouring to make what progress in that Science that I can. Whatever Rules you are pleased to give respecting my Education I shall endeavour carefully to keep, as you must know what is of greatest advantage to me, in that line of life which I have uniformly intended to pursue. Then I will have this comfort at least, that if I have made little progress, I have made all the progress that I could.

My Mother's Spirits are a good deal better since her affairs have begun to be reduced to greater order. It likewise gave her additional pleasure to hear from Mr Hill that none of your papers were wanting, which are now lodged beside her in an iron chest which has been long ago made for the purpose. With regard to the Baliol affair I shall only say that great interest has been made lately for my Competitor, in consequence of which matters have assumed rather a more unfavorable aspect than formerly.

Yours most Affectionately

Matthew Baillie

Glasgow, Decr 12th, 1778.[18]

Soon after, the election was held. Evidently Baillie's fears, expressed in this letter, were groundless, for his popularity among the faculty was such that supporters of his opponent swung their votes to Baillie, making his election unanimous. On February 3, 1779, after the election, Thomas Reid wrote to William Hunter: "I truly think you will find the young man worthy to be served. I believe he has not a little sense with a great deal of application, sobriety, and Integrity. And tho I take Oxford not to be the most favourable place for Application, yet I hope the good Habits he has got will not be lost there as he knows that your Regard . . . depends upon his Behavior."[19]

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[18] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 10, Letter #2, sides 1-2.

[19] Ibid., Vol. I. Letter #75, side 1.

After the election, Baillie visited the men who had initially supported his candidacy and thanked them -- some in his own name and some in William Hunter's name, for Dr. Hunter was evidently influential in obtaining some votes for his nephew.[20] It is also likely that the memory of Matthew's father swayed several members of the faculty who were friends of the late Professor of Divinity.

In late March of 1779, Baillie left Glasgow to journey to Oxford by way of London. Before leaving, he wrote his uncle William a last letter stating his plans and expressing some trepidation at the prospect of finally meeting his illustrious uncle.

> Dr. Sir,
>
> I have now got everything prepared for my journey in the most expeditious manner I could. My Friends in the College think that the sooner I set off it is the better [sic]. I therefore intend (since you have not disapproved of it) to set off about the beginning of Next Week by the way of London. I am told that upon the whole this is as ready a method of conveyance to Oxford; but besides this I would wish to receive your advice as my Parent about that plan of Study you would wish me to pursue at Oxford. I would wish likewise to talk over with you the manners of the Place that I may not go unguarded or unprepared to it. I would therefore wish

---

[20] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 12, side 1.

your warmest advice with regard to my Behavior. I have prevail'd with my Mother & Sisters to stay two three days at Glasgow about the time of my departure, that they may be diverted from reflecting too much upon it. They are all of them very susceptible of impression. I would wish to make it as light as possible. I hope that the consideration that I am going to a Person who will protect me as long as I deserve it will render this far easier than otherwise it might have been. My Mother gives you thanks for having been so exact in ordering the payment of the annual Settlement you have been pleased to fix upon her. Accept of everything a grateful heart can give. I must confess I am in some measure afraid to appear before you, lest my progress should seem much inferior to what might have been expected, But I trust much in your goodness that you will make every reasonable allowance for these deficiencies which may appear. My Mother & Sisters have their Love to you.

I remain Affectionately yours,
Matthew Baillie

Glasgow, March 18th, 1779.[21]

Baillie was preceded on his trip to London by a letter of introduction from his mother to his uncle in which Dorothea Baillie wrote: "I beg leave to introduce to you my son who is now on his way to Oxford by London. I have furnished him

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[21] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 8, sides 1-2.

out in the best manner my situation could afford. I now give him over entirely to you. Be a Father to him, you are the only Father he has alive. . . ."[22]

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[22] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 5. side 1. This letter from Dorothea Baillie to Dr. William Hunter is dated March 21, 1772.

CHAPTER II

THE OXFORD YEARS

Immediately upon his arrival in London, Baillie visited his uncle William at his Great Windmill Street home and remained there ten days before proceeding to Oxford. His reception by Dr. Hunter was quite cordial. He also visited his other uncle, John Hunter. At this time the Hunters were already estranged by their disagreements over priority of discovery of certain facts relating to the pregnant uterus.

From London, Baillie journeyed to Oxford where he took up residence at Balliol College, On April 8th, his name was added to the Balliol College register. [1] It did not take him long to form some very interesting personal impressions of the intellectual, scholastic, and social atmosphere at Oxford during this period. Approximately one month after his arrival at Oxford, he communicated these impressions to Willie Leckie, a Glasgow College friend.

> Oxford, May 9th, 1779
>
> Dr Willie
>
> I intended to have written you sooner but I had nothing to say but what had been mentioned before to Jocky Millar . . . & I thought it exceedingly foolish to write the same thing to a number of persons. I have nearly a Month now resided at Oxford, so that I am

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[1] The following entry appears in the Balliol College Register: "Termino Hilarii. Aprilis 8: Mattheus Baillie Filius unicus Jacobi Baillie S.T.P. de Glasgow in Regno Scotia admissus est Commensatis." (Balliol College Library, Oxford Univ., Register of Admissions and Degrees: 1682-1823, p. 69).

enably [sic] to form some opinion of the Place. I assure you that there is by no means the spirit of improvement about it which there is at Glasgow. The Students do not conceive that they come here for Study, but that all that was finished at School. They have no reason indeed to think that their Education is finished, for they are prodigiously ignorant. I was amazed with a question that was asked at me by an Englishman last day, which betrayed the most consummate ignorance. He asked me, to whom Scotland belonged? I was perfectly thunderstruck with the question. I asked him if he did not know that it was subjected to the very same laws with England? He said that he had got himself into a scrape & flushed, but it was immediately succeeded by as foolish question as the former Whether the English were helped by the Scotch in War? I asked him if he had never read in the Newspaper of the Scotch regiments being sent over to America, & that they were the best troops in the service. He found himself in a hole again & this put an end to his inquiries after Scotland. I do not say that they are all so ignorant as this, but the most are not at all acquainted with the common rules of Arithmetic. They have never read any history, & they have almost never heard of the word philosophy.

This would be very disagreeable . . . if there were no Scotchmen about it who cling pretty close to each other. I do not believe the English like us, but they take care to be very well bred. I find the place pretty

comfortable among a Society of our own. Write me soon, give me the proceedings of Our Society since I left it. Remember me to all my Companions.

I am yours most sincerely

Ma. Baillie

Direct just for Baliol College Oxford. Nothing more need be added. I forgot to bid you give my Compts to Mr & Mrs Hamilton. [2]

While in full time attendance at Oxford, Baillie ". . . read considerably in the Classics more especially the Greek and acquired some general knowledge but at that time Science was very little cultivated at Oxford . . ." [3] so that he added little scientific knowledge to that he had acquired at Glasgow. In view of the general decline of Oxford University during this period and of Baillie's excellent educational background, the question arises, Why did William Hunter want his nephew to attend Oxford rather than begin his studies in anatomy and medicine? It is likely that William Hunter wished his nephew to complete his classical education at Oxford, for the social advantages of an Oxford education were and still are very real.

Notwithstanding the repressive influence of mediaeval instruction, the medical students of the English uni-

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[2] Royal College of Physicians of London, The Baillie Letters. The Mr. Hamilton referred to in this letter was probably Dr. Thomas Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy and Botany at the University of Glasgow, 1757-1781.

[3] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda." p. 7.

> versities very generally attained the highest rank amongst the physicians of the metropolis and elsewhere. They entered the profession generally late in life, but with all the advantages of the classical, as well as medical education, and were thus associated more intimately in rank and estimation with the higher classes of society, than those, whose early studies had been of a less refined and general character. . . .[4]

On a more practical level, only holders of a doctorate of medicine from Oxford (or Cambridge or Trinity College, Dublin) were eligible to become members of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and only members or licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians were eligible to practice medicine as physicians in London.[5]

For nearly eighteen months after matriculation, Baillie resided at Oxford without interruption, pursuing his studies. As has been noted, most of his energies were directed to the classics. In a series of letters to Dr. Hunter, Baillie mentioned having read some of the works of Livy, Caesar, Cicero, Tacitus, Seneca, Terence, Homer, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Sohocles in the original Latin or Greek. While reading Sophocles' "trilogy," Baillie made some observations which have probably been shared by

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[4] George Peacock, Life of Thomas Young, M.D., F.R.S. (London, 1855), p. 121.

[5] The licentiates, however, were not allowed to use the facilites of the College, such as the library, or to attend the meetings of the College.

by countless students before and after him.

> I have already finished the half of Sophocles's plays. The one I am reading at present is his Oedipus Tyrannus. In the course of reading this Author I have found him rather more difficult than I was taught to believe from the first specimen I had of him. Altho the narrative part is not very difficult, yet many of the Choruses are exceedingly obscure. From some passages in them I extracted the meaning with a great deal of labour. Others have baffled my skill altogether. I was angry at myself during the time that I was so lame in finding out the sense of many passages & was happy to be informed afterwards that many of the Choruses of Sophocles are reckoned very obscure & difficult, even by good Greek Scholars. . . .[6]

As always, Matthew Baillie very carefully laid out his plan and method of study for his Uncle William's scrutiny and criticism. In addition, he translated the Latin and Greek that he read and then retranslated the Latin translation and sent it to William Hunter for correction and criticism. The greater part of the supervision of his efforts, however, fell to his tutor, the Reverend Mr. Prosser, whose lectures Baillie attended conscientiously.

In October of 1779, Baillie learned that one of the

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[6] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 26, side 1. This passage is a portion of the first paragraph of a letter from Matthew Baillie to William Hunter, dated "Oxford, Novr 14th, 1779."

"small Exhibitions" [7] was due to be vacated the following January and secured Dr. Hunter's aid in procuring the scholarship. [8] Several weeks later, Baillie wrote to William Hunter, calling his attention to the efforts of a competitor for the exhibition.

> Baliol, Decr 11th, 1779
>
> Dear Sir
>
> I received your very kind letter last night, & I would not have troubled you so soon with an answer had there not been some circumstances which in a great measure oblige me to it.
>
> Mr Lindsay has been elected in the room of Mr White, & has been in Baliol for a very few days. Since he came here he has been informed that one of the small Exhibitions will be vacant on Janary next, & I believe has written to his Friends in Scotland already to set them in motion. I would not have presumed to have troubled you so much about this affair had I not been encouraged by your former goodness to me which I have so often experienced. Altho I despair to be worthy of that attention you have paid me, yet I shall endeavour to shew by my conduct that at least I am not ungrateful. . . .

---

[7] The "small Exhibition" referred to the Bishop Warner Exhibition, established by the last will and testament of the Reverend Dr. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, in 1667. Four Scottish students residing at Balliol College were awarded a stipend upon the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester.

[8] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 32, side 4.

I remain Yours Most Affectionately
M. Baillie.[9]

His nephew's request for assistance did not go unanswered, for apparently Dr. Hunter proceeded to rally support for Baillie's nomination and appointment. He wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury requesting his support for Baillie's nomination and appointment to the vacant Bishop Warner Exhibition and entertained the Reverend Prosser, Baillie's tutor, and Dr. Leigh, Master of Balliol College, upon their visiting London.

Dr. Hunter's efforts proved to be successful, for on March 21, 1780, he was able to inform Matthew Baillie that the additional exhibition was his.

> Dr. Sir
>
> For a long time I have not written you because I every day expected to give you a final answer with regard to the additional exhibition. I have now the pleasure to tell you, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester have given you that mark of their good opinion of you. You owe it in reality to Dr Leigh's and your Tutor's favourable account not only of your Studies but of your morals and general conduct. Go immediatly [sic] to both, and let them know how sensible you are of the obligation -- and with my very best respects. It gives me the highest pleasure, because I con-

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[9] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 18.

sider it as your own acquisition. Let it be a lesson to you for life, first to deserve, and then, to hope or expect. Above all things, shew no mark of vanity upon the occasion. The instrument is signed, and in my hands, but not filled up. . . .

I remain always, while I can be proud
of you, most affectionatly [sic] yours,
William Hunter

Windmill St.
21 March 1780.[10]

Although William Hunter considered the exhibition his nephew's acquisition there is some curious evidence to suggest that his role was not an unimportant one. Hunter informed Matthew Baillie of his obtaining the Bishop Warner Exhibition three days before the Archbishop of Canterbury formally notified him[11] and five days before the Bishop of Rochester formally notified Baillie of his appointment.[12] Secondly, although certain information had to be obtained from Baillie before the notification of appointment could be completed, it seems strange that this document would be turned over to William Hunter unless he was a very close and trusted friend of the Bishop of Rochester or the Archbishop of Canterbury or both. Thirdly, it apparently was not the

---

[10] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 32, side 4.

[11] The Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to William Hunter is dated March 24, 1780 (R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. I, Letter #21).

[12] The Bishop of Rochester's letter to Matthew Baillie is dated March 25, 1780 (R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII. p. 4).

usual procedure for the Bishop of Rochester to write personally to the appointee. On March 28, 1780, Matthew Baillie wrote his uncle:

> Your warm friendship for me has not only procured me an additional Exhibition but likewise a very polite letter from the Bishop of Rochester himself. . . . It is not customary that a letter should be written by the Bishop himself to any Exhibitioner in such a situation; and some of my Friends here (who have seen it) think it proper to thank the Bishop for his politeness. . . .[13]

In October of 1780, Matthew Baillie left Oxford to take up residence at Dr. Hunter's house on Great Windmill Street. Until May of the next year, he attended the anatomical lectures given by William Hunter and William C. Cruikshank and the dissections at the Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy.[14] The remainder of Baillie's time was devoted to attending Dr. George Fordyce's chemistry lectures.[15]

While Baillie lived in his uncle's home and studied under him, their relationship strengthened. Although Dr. Hunter's manner toward his nephew ". . . was never familiar

---

[13] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 40, side 1.

[14] A syllabus of the anatomical lectures given at the Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy by William Hunter and William Cruikshank during the 1782-1783 session was published in the European Magazine of September, 1782. This syllabus gives a general description of the organization of the course of lectures. See Appendix III, p. 114.

[15] See Appendix IV, p. 117, for a short biographical sketch of Dr. George Fordyce.

nor warm . . . it was mild and kind . . ." and as the season progressed ". . . the kindness of his manner . . . and his confidence [in his nephew's abilities] . . . were considerably increas'd. . . ."[16] In the evenings, the two men often conversed on various subjects. It has been held traditionally that the clarity of exposition for which Baillie was noted subsequently was due to Dr. Hunter's asking his nephew to deliver recitations on the day's work at these sessions.[17] There is nothing in Baillie's letters or writings to suggest that this actually occurred. His skill in clarity of exposition probably owed something to his classical training at Glasgow and Oxford.

During this period, Baillie was still enrolled formally at Oxford University, in his words: "While I was carrying on my Studies in London, I went to Oxford in order to keep Terms, and I seldom remained longer there at a time than was necessary to keep these Terms."[18]

Another traditional view was that he attended Oxford University and studied in London during vacations.[19] It appears, however, that Baillie pursued his medical studies

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[16] R.C.S, H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda." pp. 7-8.

[17] (William Macmichael), The Gold-Headed Cane (London: John Murray, 1827), p. 153.

[18] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 8.

[19] William Munk, The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians; Compiled from the Annals of the College and from other Authentic Sources (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), II, p. 78.

in London during what was assuredly the "regular season" and attended Oxford only when medical lectures were not being given in London and then only long enough to keep Terms.[20]

In July of 1781, Matthew was again in residence at Oxford, continuing his classical studies. He also corresponded with William Hunter, who wrote Baillie the following letter, the tone of which suggests a less austere relationship between the two men.

> Dr Sir,
>
> I thank you for your Letter; and with regard to your plan of study, I remain of the same opinion, wishing you to be a ready Greek Scholar, and to write latin fluently and well. Pursue that plan in your own way, and come to Town whenever you wish it.
>
> I have had no gout since you went to Oxford and upon the whole my health and spirits are better, I think, than they have been for some years. I have not heard from your Mother and Sisters, but I wrote lately. . . . In the mean time, I remain faithfully & affectionatly sic yours.
>
> William Hunter
>
> July 2, 1781
>
> My respects to all friends.[21]

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[20] Benjamin Ward Richardson discusses Baillie's "nominal connection" with Oxford in The Asclepiad. A Book of Original Research and Observation in the Science, Art, and Literature of Medicine, Preventive and Curative, Second Series (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891), VIII, p. 245.

[21] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. II. p. 6.

The letter which William Hunter mentioned having written to Dorothea Baillie has apparently been lost, but much of its content has been preserved in a letter from Agnes Baillie to her brother.

> L. Calderwood, July th10 of 1781
>
> My Dear Brother
>
> It is a long time since I have wrote to you; it was not negligance [sic] I asure [sic] you, for there is nothing gives me so much pleasure; But Jack had wrote twice runing [sic]. I write you now with greater pleasure, because I can tell you something that will please you. Your Mother waited long for a letter from Dr. Hunter. She received one last week, a very kind one indeed, he speaks very handsomely of you But desires your Mother to preach up steadiness and perserverance [sic] to you, which she would oftener do, did she not think it was like her doubting you. of whom she has not the least distrust on that account, knowing you will do your utmost, when you know how much depends on it. I shall give you Dr. H's own words.
>
> "It will be much more easy for him, than it was for me to succeed in the world, but for that very reason, I have fear. You must preach up to him perserverance [sic] & steadiness and tell him remember that his success must depend upon himself. *I have lived to have my affections much disturbed by ingratitude* [italics added]."
>
> You see, My Dr Matthew, by this, that it is not the

> money that he minds with which he could assist you, but a fear that you might be less attentive, if you were easier in your circumstances, is the real cause why he does not. . . . I ever am, my Dr. Brother, your most affect^{at} sister.
>
> Agnes Baillie. [22]

During the 1781-1782 season, Baillie began to teach in the dissecting room of the Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy and to prepare specimens for the lectures. After the second season, he became the chief teacher in the dissecting room. He also attended John Hunter's lectures on surgery, Dr. Thomas Denman's [23] and Dr. William Osborne's [24] lectures on midwifery, and several courses of Dr. George Fordyce's lectures on the practice of physic and materia medica. During this period, Matthew Baillie also maintained his Terms at Oxford University. On January 14, 1783, he received his Bachelor of Art degree.

On March 30, 1783, ten days after his collapse at the introductory lecture on operative surgery, William Hunter died. [25] By the terms of his will, his nephew was left about

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[22] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. II, p. 29.

[23] For a short biographical sketch of Dr. Thomas Denman, see Apendix IV, p.118 .

[24] For a short biographical sketch of Dr. William Osborne, see Appendix IV, p.117 .

[25] George C. Peachey, A Memoir of William and John Hunter, pp. 131-132.

£5000 in money, the Hunter family estate at Long Calderwood, the house and premises on Great Windmill Street after thirty years, and the use of the anatomical preparations for thirty years, after which period they were to be turned over to the University of Glasgow. In addition, as Baillie noted in "Some Short Memoranda of My Life:" "Dr. Hunter had by his will associated Mr. Cruikshank with me in the Lectures. . . ."[26]

Although William Hunter permitted his brother John to attend him during his terminal illness,[27] the bitterness and rancor of their estrangement persisted in William to the last. This is reflected in his decision to will the house and lands at Long Calderwood to Matthew Baillie rather than John Hunter. If the argument between the two brothers had not taken place, the property undoubtedly would have passed to John Hunter, just as it had from James Hunter to William Hunter upon James' death.

Realizing that Long Calderwood had been bequeathed to him soley because of the Hunters' personal feud, Baillie felt a moral obligation to turn over the estate to John Hunter. In a letter to Robertson Barclay dated August 25, 1783, Baillie requested Barclay to begin making legal preparations for transfer of the title to Long Calderwood to his uncle John.

> I should be glad to know, if you will take the trouble at any time to write to me, whether I can *immediately*

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[26] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 9.

[27] George C. Peachey, *A Memoir of William and John Hunter*, p. 132.

> after the registration of the Will desire deeds to be drawn up transferring Long Calderwood to J. Hunter or whether I must wait, till the adjudication in implement has taken place. I long very much to do the only piece of Justice in my power to a man who is my Relation, & whom I respect for the force of his genius & the integrity of his mind. . . . [28]

In a letter dated September 19, 1783, Baillie discussed the transfer again with Mr. Barclay.

> With regard to the transferring of the estate, I can have no objection to any consultation, but the names must be conceal'd & no circumstance brought forwards which may tend to discover the parties engag'd in the transaction. The more every matter of this kind can be done with secrecy, it is the better. I have never ventur'd more than once to talk of it myself to J. Hunter.
>
> He refused the offer, but not with any decided tone. I do not mean to talk of it again to him untill [sic] I have the deeds in my pocket ready to give him. This is a matter in which I am very much interested, and I think I shall nearly feel as much satisfaction in delivering over the deeds to J. Hunter as if a sum of the same value was to be given to myself. . . . [29]

In the same letter, he confessed to Barclay that his plans

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[28] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 39, sides 3-4.

[29] Ibid., Vol. II. p. 55, sides 1-2.

were still indefinite, other than his desire to be an anatomy lecturer in London. The transfer of Long Calderwood to John Hunter finally took place in October 1784.[30]

Although Baillie's plans may not have been clearly defined, nevertheless he continued in his medical studies. Immediately after William Hunter's death, Baillie became a "perpetual physician's pupil" at St. George's Hospital at Hyde Park Corner.[31] He also studied there as a surgical pupil of John Hunter's for a twelve-month term beginning June 21, 1784.[32]

> It appeared to me that medicine & surgery were so connected together, that by knowing something of the latter, I should become more satisfactoryily [sic] acquainted with the former, and in this opinion after long experience, I think that I have not been mistaken.[33]

Later in the fall of 1783, young Baillie's plans began to crystallize. On October 22, he requested a leave of absence from Oxford in a letter to the Master of Balliol College, Theophilus Leigh, who replied as follows:

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[30] Stephen Paget, John Hunter: Man of Science and Surgeon (1728-1793), p. 238.

[31] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda." p. 11.

[32] St. George's Hospital Medical School, Register of Pupils and House Officers: 1756-1837. Matthew Baillie is listed as pupil #1034. On November 2, 1785, he re-entered for a second twelve month term with John Hunter.

[33] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 11.

Sir,

Your Letter (of the 22d past) coming to Balliol after my Departure thence, did not reach me here, before the close of Oct^{r}. I take the earlyest [sic] post to assure you, that you have the leave of absence which you desire. This I owe to your exemplary Behavior in your College Residence; in memory of your worthy Uncle's goodness to me and my Daughter; as well as to the Publick [sic] good, which I well know will be much more promoted by the method you are pursuing above, whether in London or in Scotland. . . . When ever you can think I may have it in my power to render you any service, you have to notify as much, and you will, in so doing insure to yourself ev'ry good office within the reach of, Sir, your Sincere Friend & humble Servant.

The. Leigh

Mills Hill, Hendon
Novr. 3d. 1783. [34]

Thus Matthew Baillie continued to follow the time-honored path of English physicians who, having obtained their classical education at Oxford or Cambridge, left their colleges to study medicine in London or Edinburgh or on the Continent. Although the rudiments of medical education, as we know it today, were appearing at Oxford and Cambridge, the emphasis was almost totally on the study of the ancient and

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[34] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VIII, p. 27.

medieval writers.[35]

During the second season after William Hunter's death, the session of 1784-1785, Baillie began to give some of the evening anatomy lectures (which Cruikshank had given when Hunter was alive) at the Great Windmill Street School. When he was not lecturing, he supervised the student's dissections and gave explanatory lectures on the morning dissections. In the course of several seasons, Baillie assumed a full share of the didactic lectures.

At the time of Dr. Hunter's death, Cruikshank already had acquired a reputation as an anatomist, physiologist, and practitioner. He had investigated the regrowth and reunion of severed nerves, the passage of the fertilized ovum through the Fallopian tube, the lymphatics and absorption, and the release of carbon dioxide by the human skin.[36] Baillie and Cruikshank also had the use of Hunter's large and valuable collection of anatomical preparations. These two circumstances, according to Baillie, ". . . brought a great many Students to the School next season, so that the influence of Dr. Hunter's death was less felt than was expected and in the course of a few seasons the number of Students was quite as

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[35] In his introductory lecture to the course of anatomy given at the Great Windmill Street School which was published posthumously in Lectures and Observations on Medicine (London: Printed by. R. Taylor, 1825), Baillie displayed an acquaintance with the works of many of the ancient and medieval physicians.

[36] Fielding H. Garrison, An Introduction to the History of Medicine (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 4th ed., 1929), p. 325.

great as in Dr. Hunter's life time. "[37] It is, perhaps, overly modest on Baillie's part to attribute the continued success of the lectures to Cruikshank and Dr. Hunter's collection and to ignore his own role. After several seasons, his skill as an anatomical lecturer served as a major attraction of the Great Windmill Street School for anatomy students.

> As a lecturer, he soon attained considerable eminence, being remarkable for the simplicity and perspicuity of his demonstrations, the order and method of his style, and the clearness and distinctness of his delivery. "There was something in his mode of lecturing," to use the language of one of his most distinguished pupils, "which, though not eloquent, irresistibly commanded the attention of his hearers: it was, that of a person completely master of his subject, and anxious to convey knowledge to others. He was singularly clear in his demonstrations, yet concise and condensed; he was never at a loss for an appropriate word or phrase; never made repetitions; never introduced an observation out of its proper place; and he had nothing to assist him, except in a few introductory discourses, but the mere heads of his lectures. His manner was not without animation, yet always modest, and most unostentatious; and the attention

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[37] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," pp. 9r & 10.

of the student was excited, not by brilliancy of composition, but by a remarkable fluency and precision of expression." [38]

Still a fourth factor in the continued success of the Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy after William Hunter's death may have been the need for anatomical knowledge prompted by the continued growth of surgery and obstetrics.

On June 14, 1786, Baillie received his Master of Arts degree from Oxford. One month later, on July 15, he received his Bachelor of Medicine degree. [39]

Between these two dates, on June 23, 1786, a "special general court" was convened at St. George's Hospital to elect a physician to replace Dr. Donald Monro. Among those present were William Cruikshank, Everard Home, John Hunter, Sir George Baker, Dr. Thomas Denman, Sir William Farquhar, and Dr. Richard Warren. "The Court then proceeded to the election of a Physician in the Room of Dr. Monro; when, upon casting up the Ballot, there appeared to be for Dr. Ford -- 78, Dr. Baillie -- 60, Dr. Pearson -- 17, Dr. Hopson -- 1; whereupon Dr. Ford was declared duly elected." [40]

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[38] James Wardrop (ed.), The Works of Matthew Baillie, M.D. to Which is Prefixed an Account of His Life, Collected from Authentic Sources (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825), I, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

[39] The following entry appears in the Balliol College Register: "Termini Trinitatis. Julii 15: Mattheus Baillie A.M. admissus est ad Gradum Medici Baccalaureatus."(Balliol College Library, Oxford University, Register of Admissions and Degrees: 1682-1823, p. 133).

[40] St. George's Hospital, Minute Book No. 14: 18 Feb. '85 to 1 Oct. '89, p. 156. See also pp. 154-155.

In his efforts to obtain this position, Matthew Baillie was assisted by his uncle John Hunter. On May 31, three weeks prior to the election, Hunter wrote a letter to Robert Adams, soliciting his interest in Baillie's candidacy.

> Sir,
>
> I beg leave to sollicit [sic] your voted interest for Dr. Baillie my Nephew to succeed to an approaching vacancy of physician to St. George's Hospital.
>
> He received his literary education at Oxford, his medical education at the several schools of medicine in London and at St. George's Hospital; and is a Teacher of Anatomy in Windmill Street having succeeded to the late Dr. Hunter under whom he studied Anatomy.
>
> He is supported as a candidate by the Physicians of the Hospital.
>
> I am, Dear Sir,
> Your Most Obedt. Servant
> John Hunter
>
> Leicester Square
> May 31 ____.[41]

Even though his candidacy was supported by John Hunter, Baillie still failed to gain election. Obviously the support of a Hunter did not necessarily guarantee success to Baillie. At this time he was only twenty-four years old, a fact which probably was to his disadvantage. Although the influence and interest first of William Hunter and then of John Hunter un-

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[41] Royal College of Surgeons of England, The John Hunter Letters.

doubtedly aided Baillie during his years of association with them, in the end, it is not unreasonable to say, his accomplishments were usually the result of his own effort and ability.

At the St. George's Hospital Weekly Board meeting on Wednesday, February 7, 1787, two positions as house physician became vacant by the resignation of Dr. John Burges (". . . my professional & other avocations will no longer permit me to perform the Duty . . .") and Dr. W. H. Muckleston (". . . the present ill state of my health . . ."). [42] On Friday, February 23, with two hundred and twenty surgeons and physicians present, "the Court then proceeded to the choice of two physicians in the Rooms of Dr. Burges & Dr. Muckleston; when, upon casting up the Ballot there appear'd for Dr. Matthew Baillie -- 165, Dr. George Pearson -- 138, Dr. John Ash -- 100; whereupon Dr. Matthew Baillie & Dr. George Pearson were declared duly elected." [43]

After his election as a physician to St. George's Hospital, Baillie continued giving anatomy lectures at the Great Windmill Street School and assumed his duties at St. George's.

> During my situation there as Physician, I was only as attentive as I could be to the Cases of my Patients but embraced every opportunity of examining the Morbid ap-

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[42] St. George's Hospital, Minute Book No. 14, p. 218.

[43] Ibid., p. 231.

pearances after death.[44]

Not only did Baillie observe "morbid appearances" at the Hospital, he also performed dissections and made observations on subjects brought to Great Windmill Street. On one occasion, a male subject, nearly forty years old, ". . . was brought to Windmill Street for dissection. On opening the cavities of the thorax and abdomen, the uncommon situation of the viscera was so striking as immediately to excite the attention of the pupils who were engaged in dissecting the body, and Mr. Cruikshank, as well as myself, were informed of the singularity. . . . I immediately began to examine every part of the change with considerable attention."[45]

Baillie wrote an account of this case of dextrocardia with situs inversus and requested his uncle John to communicate the account to the Royal Society, of which John Hunter was a member, if he thought it worthy.[46] The account was read at the Royal Society on May 8, 1788, and soon appeared in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.[47]

In the spring and summer of 1788, Baillie toured

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[44] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 12.

[45] James Wardrop, The Works of Matthew Baillie, I, pp. 150-151.

[46] Philos. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lond. 78 (1788), p. 350.

[47] "An Account of a Remarkable Transposition of the Viscera," Philos. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lond. 78 (1788), pp. 350-363.

through France, Switzerland, Germany, Flanders, and Holland.[48] While on the Continent, he kept a travel diary [49] in which he recorded various observations. During the course of several months, he visited hospitals in Paris, Lyon, Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, Frankfurt-on-Main, Mayence, Rotterdam, and Mannheim. Although several of the hospitals were comparable to St. George's, most impressed him as being over-crowded and poorly managed, if not in some cases dirty. He also inspected the anatomical collections at the École Vétérinaire outside Paris, several private collections in Paris, a school of anatomy in Strasbourg, the School of Anatomy at Mannheim, the Surgical Society of Rotterdam, the anatomical museum at Leyden, and several others. Without exception, Baillie felt that the preparations were not as well made as those of the Hunters, nor were they maintained or displayed as well.

In January of 1789, the body of a thirteen-year-old girl was brought to the Windmill Street dissecting room, where a dermoid tumor of the right ovary was discovered. Baillie's description of the findings in this case, "An Account of a Particular Change of Structure in the Human Ovarium," was read at the Royal Society on February 26, and was soon after published in the 1789 Philosophical Transactions.[50]

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[48] V. G. Plarr, "Matthew Baillie's Diary of Travel in 1788," British Medical Journal, 1 (March 19, 1927), pp. 523-524.

[49] The travel diary is in the Hunter-Baillie Collection at the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

[50] "An Account of a Particular Change of Structure in the Human Ovarium," Philos. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lond. 79 (1789), pp. 71-78.

On June 24, 1789, at the Weekly Board meeting at St. George's Hospital, Baillie ". . . being obliged to go to Oxford, requested leave of Absence . . . which the Board agreed to accordingly."[51] Several weeks later, on July 7, he received his Doctorate in Medicine from Oxford.[52]

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[51] St. George's Hospital, Minute Book No. 14, p. 479.

[52] The following entry appears in the Balliol College Register: "Termino Paschalis. Julii 7: Matthew Baillie, Med: Bac: admiss: ad grad: Doctoris in Medicina." (Balliol College Library, Oxford University, Register of Admissions and Degrees: 1682-1823, p. 133r).

CHAPTER III

THE MIDDLE YEARS

In anticipation of receiving his Doctor of Medicine degree, which would make him eligible for membership in the Royal College of Physicians of London, Matthew Baillie appeared at the College on July 3, to be examined by the President and Censors of the College "in parte physiologica." [1]

A month later, on August 7, Dr. Baillie again appeared before the examining committee and ". . . was examined in parte pathologica and was told that he might come for his third examination at the next Comitia minora. He produced a Diploma from the University of Oxford by which it appeared that he was created a Doct^{r} of Physic in that University the 14th day of July 1789." [2] That same day, he successfully passed the third examination, which was on therapeutics. Seven weeks later, on September 30, Baillie was admitted as

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[1] "Comitiis minoribus orindariis Die Julii 3tior 1789.

Present Sir George Baker, Bart. President.
Dr. Turton
Dr. Milman
Dr. Austin
Dr. J. Carmich. Smyth
} Censors
Dr. Hervey Register

The Minutes of the last Comitia minora were read. . . .

Dr Matw Baillie's 1st exam^{n}.	Dr Matthew Baillie appeared at the Board and was examined in parte physiologica; he was told that he might come for his second examination on Friday the 7th of August next at three o'clock in the afternoon."

(The Register Book of the Royal College of Physicians of London: April 6, 1789 -- December 23, 1789, Vol. XVI, p. 18).

[2] Ibid., p. 22.

a Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians.[3] One year after having been admitted as a candidate, Dr. Baillie became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.

Following his graduation from Oxford and his admission as a Candidate of the Royal College of Physicians, Baillie's activities did not differ markedly from those of the previous year or two. He continued lecturing on anatomy at the Great windmill Street School with Mr. Cruikshank and serving as a physician at St. George's Hospital. In a letter dated August 21, 1789, Baillie related his progress to his old Glasgow College friend, William Leckie, who was now a surgeon in Jamaica.

> With respect to myself, I have been moving uniformly in the channel that first open'd to me. Our Lectures have been of late attended with nearly the same number of students as Dr. Hunter's Lectures were formerly. I

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[3] "Comitiis majoribus Ordinariis Die Septembr. 30 mo 1789

Present Sir George Baker Bart Presidt

Dr. Pitcairn	Dr. Austin
Dr. Brocklesley	Dr. Ash
Dr. Cardogan	Dr. J. Carmich. Smyth
Dr. Donald Monro	Dr. Reynolds
Dr. Budd	Sir Lucas Pepys Bart
Dr. Robertson	Dr. Burges
Dr. Geo. Fordyce	

The names were called over and the minutes of the last Comitia majora were read. . . .

Dr Mw Baillie admittd a Candidate	The President proposed Dr. Matw. Baillie to be admitted a Candidate who being ballotted for was elected and having given his Faith to the College was ad:mitted."

(The Register Book of the Royal College of Physicians of London: April 6, 1789 -- December 23, 1789, Vol. XVI, pp. 23-24.

> would not have you to believe however that I think this arises from the merit of the Lectures, but from two very simple circumstances, the one the excellence of the Anatomical Collection: the other the great opportunity from the various Hospitals here.
>
> It is about two years or a little more since I was chosen Physician to one of the first Hospitals in this Town, viz. St. George's Hospital. This has afforded me an opportunity of seeing diseases that I could not at all have had otherwise and has also given a weight to my situation in Town. I am perhaps one of the youngest Physicians that was every chosen to an [sic] Hospital.
>
> It is only about six weeks since I took my degree of Dr. in Physick [sic] at Oxford. This paves the way for becoming a Fellow of the College of Physicians which will take place very soon. Such is the state of my public advancement in my profession.[4]

During the same year that Dr. Baillie became a member of the College of Physicians, he also was elected to membership in the Royal Society. His nomination for membership

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[4] The Royal College of Physicians of London, TheBaillie Letters. This letter to William Leckie and the one in Chapter II (pp. 13-15) were published with annotations by George C. Peachey in "Two Unpublished Letters of Matthew Baillie, M.D." *Annals of Medical History*, n.s. *III* (1931), pp. 404-406.

was made February 25, 1790; on June 3, he was elected.[5]

In early May of 1791, Dr. Baillie married Sophia Denman, the younger of the twin daughters of Dr. Thomas Denman, whose lectures on midwifery Baillie had attended several years before. There is little information to suggest anything about their first meeting or their courtship. On May 14, 1791, while on his honeymoon, Baillie wrote his mother-in-law, Mrs. Thomas Denman: "The more I am acquainted with my Sophia the more reason I find to think myself most lucky in my choice. To a very good understanding there is bound the most exquisite sensibility which in my mind is worth all the faculties of the head put together. She is even now slow in becoming perfectly acquainted, but this shows a delicacy of mind which is most

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[5] "Matthew Baillie Dr of Physic, Lecturer on Anatomy in London, and Author of two Papers in the Philosophical Transactions entituled [sic] 'An Account of a remarkable Transposition of the Viscera in the Human Body' and 'An Account of a particular change of Structure in the Human Ovarium' being desirous of becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society, we whose names are underwritten do from our personal knowledge recommend him as deserving of that honour, and likely to become an useful and valuable member.

Read Febry 25th 1790
1s March 4th
2 - 11
3 - 18
4 - 25th
5 April 15
6 - 22
7 - 29
8 May 6th
9 - 13
10 - 20

Dav: Pitcairn
John Hunter
Jas. Edw. Smith
Gil Blane
E. W. Gray
R. Melvill
George Shaw

George Baker
W. Heberden
G. Blagden
Grevill
G. Shuckburgh
John Hunter
Everard Home
Wm Blizzard
Maxwell Garthshore

Ballotted for & elected June 3d, 1790."
(Royal Society of London, Certificates: 1784-1800).

truly captivating."[6] During their trip, the Baillies visited Bath, Wells, Exeter, Salisbury, and Portsmouth before returning to London.

At the time of his marriage, four years after his appointment to St. George's Hospital, Matthew Baillie ". . . had scarcely any business as a Physician . . ." and was earning approximately £100 a year in fees.[7] From these figures, it is evident that Baillie still depended on his position as an anatomical lecturer as his primary source of income.

During the years that he had been serving as an anatomy student and teacher and as a house physician, Baillie availed himself of the opportunity of studying the morbid alterations of structure whenever possible. In 1793 he published his first major work, which incorporated many of these observations. This book, The Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body, was intended ". . . to explain more minutely than has hitherto been done, the changes of structure arising from morbid actions in some of the most important parts of the human body . . . according to a local arrangement, very much in the same manner as if we were describing natural structure. . . ."[8] The first edition of The Morbid Anatomy was dedicated to Sir George Baker, President of the College of Physicians, and to the Fellows of the College.

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[6] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. III, p. 5, side 1.

[7] Ibid., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 13.

[8] Matthew Baillie, The Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body (London: Printed for J. Johnson and G. Nichol, 1793), pp. i & viii.

The success of The Morbid Anatomy was relatively immediate. In the following years, the book was translated into French, Italian, and German, and it went through three American editions and four more English editions during Baillie's lifetime (see p.135). Undoubtedly, the appearance of this simple and unique book contributed to Matthew Baillie's growing reputation in the medical profession and, perhaps, among the general public.

The year 1793 brought sorrow as well as success. On Wednesday, October 16, 1793, his uncle John Hunter collapsed at the weekly board meeting at St. George's Hospital and died several hours later.[9] Some time after Hunter's death, Baillie and Everard Home are said to have performed a post-mortem examination on John Hunter.[10] His interment was at the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on October 22. Hunter, by his will dated July 11, 1793, left Baillie and Home his unpublished manuscripts and natural history collections in trust. The collections were to be sold, with the proceeds going to Anne Hunter, his widow.[11] The fate of Hunter's manuscripts is well known and will not be reiterated here. It is only to be lamented that Matthew Baillie did not take a more active interest in his uncle John's manuscripts,

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[9] See George C. Peachey's A Memoir of John and William Hunter for a more detailed account of John Hunter's death.

[10] C. W. G. Rohrer, "John Hunter: His Life and Labors," The John Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, 25 (January 1914), p. 26.

[11] See George C. Peachey's A Memoir of John and William Hunter for a more detailed account of the sale of John Hunter's natural history collections.

similar to that which prompted him to edit and complete William Hunter's Anatomical Description of the Human Gravid Uterus and Its Contents and to publish this work in 1794.

In the succeeding several years, Matthew Baillie's fortunes as a medical practitioner began to improve. He wrote a letter dated August 6, 1796, to his wife Sophia, who was visiting in Colchester, in which he stated:

> I have not been able to get any new Patients. I have but one solitary one which I see once a week. I have go, however, 5 Guineas by Consultations, which have given me some comfort, and a solitary Guinea in the regular way. It is not pleasant to live in this state of uncertainty; the ebb [from prospective patients leaving London for the summer?] however, is not so great as it was last year at this time, and I find that I am certainly advancing. [12]

The advancement of which Baillie spoke is reflected in his income from professional fees, which rose from ₤270, 1s. in 1794 to ₤499, 16s. in 1795 to ₤565, 19s. in 1796 and then to ₤735, 6s. in 1797. [13]

During the summer of 1797, one of London's leading practitioners, Dr.Richard Warren, died. In a letter to Sophia Baillie dated June 23, the day after Warren's death, Matthew Baillie observed that "this will make a prodigious opening

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[12] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 49, sides 1-2.

[13] Ibid., Fee Books for the Years 1794-1797.

in Physic which will be chiefly filled up by Pitcairn, Reynolds & Farquhar, but I think its influence must extend to lesser Doctors." [14] Five days later, in another letter to his wife, Baillie had evidently reflected further on the possible consequences of Dr. Warren's death and had come to the conclusion that "the length of time that Dr. Warren was ill threw the additional business some weeks ago into other channels . . . and, therefore makes the chance of fresh applications from Patients not very considerable." [15]

Soon after Richard Warren's death, another of London's most eminent and successful physicians became seriously ill.

> About this time, Dr. Pitcairn, an intimate and very kind Friend, was siez'd [sic] with a spitting of Blood one night when he was stepping into Bed and sent for me in the morning. I shall never forget the calmness of his appearance, when I saw him. He was perfectly calm, altho he must have thought that this symptom was the beginning of a fatal disorder. I attended him while this symptom continued and when he went to Portugal [in 1798] on account of his health, he recommended, without any solicitation or knowledge on my part, a great many Patients to me. Dr. P: was then in the height of his Reputation &

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[14] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 52, side 3.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 54, side 1.

Business, and his recommendation was of the greatest use to me.[16]

Dr. David Pitcairn's referral of some of his patients to his friend Matthew Baillie resulted in a marked increase in the size of Baillie's practice, as evidenced by his professional receipts during the next four years:

1798 --- £1113, 16s. 6d.
1799 --- £2040, 14s. 6d.
1800 --- £2753, 7s. nd.
1801 --- £3724, 19s. 6d.[17]

Although it is difficult to assess the relative roles of Dr. Warren's death and Dr. Pitcairn's temporary retirement to Lisbon, it is noteworthy that in the year following Warren's death, Baillie's receipts increased approximately £400, whereas in the years following Pitcairn's retirement, Baillie's receipts increased £900 the first year, £700 the second year, and £1000 the third year.

William Munk, in his Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, attributed Baillie's rapid advancement in his profession to Richard Warren's death, his relationship to the Hunters, his marriage to Dr. Thomas Denman's daughter,

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[16] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," pp. 13-14. It is interesting to note than in The Gold-Headed Cane (p. 52), John Radcliffe is quoted as saying the following to Richard Mead: "Last year, upon my being returnedmember of parliament for the town of Buckingham, I retired from practice, and I have recommended you to all my patients. Your own merit and achievement will insure you success; but perhaps your career may be facilitated by what I have done for you." Just as Radcliffe gave Mead the gold-headed cane and referred his patients to Mead so did David Pitcairn do the same for Matthew Baillie.

[17] R.C.S., H.B.C., Fee Books for the Years 1798-1801.

and David Pitcairn's "temporary secession." [18] In his "Short Memoranda," Baillie readily acknowledges his debt to Pitcairn but states:

> No considerable assistance was ever given me from any other quarter than from Dr. Pitcairn. Dr. Hunter died before I had finished my medical education, and Mr. Hunter died when I was so young a Physician that no effectual assistance could be given me. Dr. Denman was always very kind and inclined to assist me as much as he could, but what he could do was chiefly in his own line of practice, and his interest was therefore almost entirely employed in advancing his other son-in-law [Richard Croft].
>
> In about an [sic] year after Dr. Pitcairn went abroad, my Business began to increase very rapidly, and in the course of a few years became quite overwhelming. [19]

Indeed, his practice had enlarged to such a degree that he elected to give up lecturing at the Great Windmill Street School of Anatomy. On the occasion of his last lecture, a crowd of over one hundred and sixty pupils and friends were present. The following notice appeared in The London Medical Review and Magazine, April 1799, soon after his final lecture:

> Dr. Baillie, of London, having for some time past

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[18] William Munk, Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, II, pp. 350-351.

[19] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," pp. 14-15.

determined to withdraw from the situation he has so long and honourably filled, as a public teacher of anatomy in Great Windmill Street, gave his last lecture (upon the absorbent vessels,) on Thursday, the 11th of April. After the lecture, he addressed his pupils in words to the following purport:

"Gentlemen,

"Having finished my part of the present course of lectures, I now retire, after fifteen years as a public teacher of anatomy. My professional engagements, for more than twelve months past, have rendered it extremely inconvenient for me to continue to give lectures. But, I must confess there are other reasons, more powerful than this, which have determined me to make so painful a sacrifice; these, however, are such as it would be improper to explain in this situation.

"During the time I have had the honour to be engaged a teacher, I have endeavoured faithfully to discharge my duty to my pupils; and my defects have not been owing to a want of assiduity or desire to serve them. I shall still be interested in their prosperity, and will omit no opportunity of promoting the study of anatomy.

"I thank you sincerely, Gentlemen, for the respectful and uniform attention with which you have honoured me. You have ever appeared more desirous to overlook my defects, than to search them out. I leave

> you with regret; but not without hope that I shall still live in your recollection and esteem."
>
> Dr. Baillie was much affected in delivering this address, which was heard with the most profound attention. He then withdrew, amidst the loud and reiterated applause of a numerous company. . . .
>
> We are happy to hear that Dr. Baillie's pupils have raised a subscription, amounting to upwards of an hundred guineas; which will be laid out in the purchase of a piece of plate, to be presented to him as a token of their respect for his private character, his professional talents, and his unrivaled abilities as a teacher.[20]

The reasons for his retirement which Baillie refused to discuss undoubtedly concern his relations with William Cruikshank. In his "Short Memoranda," Baillie states that Cruikshank had ". . . a very odd temper, and became more and more unpleasant to . . . [me]."[21]

Notwithstanding his relations with Cruikshank, Baillie was beginning to be weighed with professional duties which in the course of a few years almost overwhelmed his health. Eleven months after Matthew Baillie ceased lecturing, he also resigned his position at St. George's Hospital, much the same as Dr. John Burges had done thirteen years before, thereby

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[20] London Medical Review and Magazine, 1 (April 1799), pp. 202-203.

[21] R.C.S, H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," pp 10-11.

creating the vacancy to which Baillie was elected. At the weekly board meeting of March 5, 1800, Baillie's letter of resignation as physician to St. George's Hospital was received and it was 'resolved unanimously that the Thanks of this Board be transmitted to Dr. Baillie for his long and faithfull [sic] Services." [22]

In the decade following his final departure from Oxford, Baillie managed to establish himself as a successful London practitioner. He also published his Morbid Anatomy in 1793 (an enlarged and corrected edition appeared in 1797). In 1799 printing and publications of a series of engravings to illustrate The Morbid Anatomy was begun. The drawings from which the engravings were made were executed by William Clift.

During this same period, he married Sophia Denman, daughter of Dr. Thomas Denman, and fathered three children by her. James, the eldest, died in infancy. Elizabeth Margaret Baillie was born February 12, 1794, and William Hunter Baillie was born September 15, 1797. [23]

Not only was Baillie lecturing on anatomy, serving as physician to St. George's and struggling to build up a practice, but he also was a very active member of the College of Physicians. He served as Censor in 1791 and 1796, Gulstonian Lecturer in 1794, [24] Croonian Lecturer in 1796-1798, and

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[22] St. George's Hospital, Minute Book No. 17: 4 Jan '97 to 3 Oct 1804, p. 217.

[23] George C. Peachey, A Memoir of John and William Hunter, p. 253.

[24] The Gulstonian Lectures are published in the Lectures and Observations on Medicine.

Harveian Orator in 1798. [25]

The years of striving to build up a practice were now over. Paradoxically, for the remainder of his life, Dr. Matthew Baillie was so busy and successful that it was only with the greatest difficulty that his practice could be limited sufficiently so as not to destroy his health.

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[25] William Munk, Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, II, p. 350.

CHAPTER IV

THE LATE YEARS

After withdrawing as an anatomical lecturer and resigning as a physician to St. George's Hospital, Matthew Baillie devoted himself to the practice of medicine. In the course of several years his practice became overwhelming. Arising at six o'clock in the morning, Baillie would answer letters and eat breakfast until 8:30 a.m. From 8:30 until 10:30 he saw patients at his Grosvenor Square house, to which he had moved with his family after giving up the anatomical lectures at Great Windmill Street and disposing of the premises. He then went out visiting patients until approximately six in the evening, when he returned home for supper. After supper Baillie again saw patients. At the end of the evening, ". . . some patients were often left unseen, whose cases were not urgent, and many were declined altogether." [1]

During his later years, Dr. Baillie had a reputation as a kindly, tolerant patient man, but when as a younger man he was forced by his large practice to work a sixteen- or seventeen-hour day, ". . . he was sometimes rather irritable, and betrayed a want of temper [sic] in hearing the tiresome details of an unimportant story." [2] When returning home for supper, he is said to have refused to allow his family to

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[1] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 15.

[2] (William Macmichael), The Gold-Headed Cane, p. 160.

speak to him until he had rested and had had a glass of wine.

Approximately six years after David Pitcairn had retired to Lisbon and referred his patients to Baillie, the latter's practice reached such proportions that it became injurious to his health. In the summer of 1804, he became ill, presumably from overwork. Upon hearing of this, Mrs. John Hunter wrote Sophia Baillie the following letter:

> London, August 31, 1804
>
> My Dear Mrs. Baillie,
>
> I rejoice that I had not heard any of your misfortunes till I heard from yourself this day; here is weathere to make you forget them all, and to render even your Rocky coast, and stormy waves cheerful. . . . Poor Baillie, he must pay the price of his celebrity; if he will be eminent, he must take the consequences; and who will pity him, I wonder? I am in hopes, however, he will soon be quite well, and enjoy his short excursion, and the sea breezes. . . .
>
> Anne Hunter.[3]

The trip to the country for several months in the late summer or early autumn soon became a regular feature of Dr. Baillie's life. After approximately a decade of working a sixteen- or seventeen-hour day, Baillie recalled in his autobiographical memoir that

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[3] Stephen Paget, John Hunter: Man of Science and Surgeon (1728-1793), pp. 257-258.

> . . . altho for some years I was several months in the Country in Autumn, yet my health became at length nearly sunk under excessive labour and great anxiety of mind. It became necessary therefore to come to some resolution about myself, either to give up business altogether, or to circumscribe it within the powers of my Constitution. I chose the latter plan, and confined myself to giving opinions, and attending in Consultations.[4]

The exact period at which Baillie restricted his practice to opinions and consultations is not known.

While trying to confine his "business," Baillie's prominence as a physician placed various new obligations and burdens on his shoulders. Writing from Edinburgh, his old friend, Archibald Alison Sr., requested Baillie to receive and advise a young physician visiting London. In this letter Alison also congratulated Baillie on his acquisition of an estate in Gloucestershire.[5]

> My dear Baillie,
>
> The bearer is Dr. Baron, son to the late Professor Baron of St. Andrews & a very worthy & deserving young

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[4] R.C.S., H.B.C. "Some Short Memoranda," pp. 15-16.

[5] Baillie had purchased the Gloucestershire estate sometime before or during 1806, for in a letter to James Wilson, the anatomist, dated June 25, 1806, Baillie remarked: "I propose then to dispose of the premises in Windmill Street for ready money, in order to pay off a part of a heavy mortgage, which rests upon the Lands in Gloucestershire." (From a letter hanging on a wall of the mezzanine of the St. George's Medical School Library.)

Man. He thinks at present of trying his fortune as a Physician at Harrow gate, where there is a Vacancy: and he would most gratefully receive any advice or council from you. This is all the attention which I ask for him; and I hope it will not interrupt you for a quarter of an hour, tho it may be valuable to him for his whole life.

You have no time to read letters: I will only say therefore that I had the happiness of seeing your sisters lately under my own humble roof; that it has renewed all the interest I feel for you & yours & all the admiration I feel for them; and that it has made me acquainted with Mrs. Baillie & your children. I rejoiced to hear of your Gloucestershire Estate and I shall rejoice whenever I hear of your being there. After having done so much for your family & for the world it is time you should think of yourself: and I shall be much pleased to hear of your being Sherriff [sic] of the County, Chairman at the Quarter Sessions, or getting the first prize for . . . turnips, or planting acorns. . . .

My dear Baillie
Yours most truly,
Al Alison

Edinb. May 19th, 1808.[6]

On another occasion, the Duke of Gloucester, a former patient, was preparing to visit London. He sent Baillie the following letter.

Chittenham, Aug. 20, 1808

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[6] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 26, sides 1-2.

> The Duke of Gloucester cannot find himself so near Dr. Baillie without offering to come over & make him a visit. He therefore requests that Dr. Baillie will be so good as to let him know whether it would be convenient to him & Mrs. Baillie to receive the Duke of Gloucester on Monday next, on which day it would affend [sic] him great satisfaction to take a family dinner with Dr. & Mrs. Baillie at the hour that is most agreable [sic] to them. . . . The Duke of Gloucester can assure Dr. Baillie that his health is very much improved since he has been at Chittenham.[7]

In April of 1809, Dr. Baillie suffered the loss of a benefactor and close friend, Dr. David Pitcairn, who had returned from his convalescence in Portugal several years before. On the evening of April 16, unaware that Pitcairn was ill, Baillie paid him a social call and found him in no acute distress. The next morning he made a professional visit. That evening Pitcairn died.[8] In a paper entitled "Three Cases of Inflammation of the Inner Membranes of the Larynx and Trachea Terminating Quickly in Death," published in the Transactions of a Society to Improve Medical & Chirurgical Knowledge of 1812, Baillie described Pitcairn's illness and the autopsy findings.

Towards the end of 1809, Dr. Baillie was commanded

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[7] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. III, p. 11, sides 1-2.

[8] See The Gold-Headed Cane for a contemprary account of David Pitcairn's life and his final illness.

by King George III to attend his youngest daughter, Princess Amelia, who was ill with progressive pulmonary tuberculosis. "She had been ill for some time and attended by Sir Francis Milman, Dr. Saunders, Dr. Heberden, and a local practitioner named Pope. . . ."[9] According to William Munk, the princess had noted the progression of her disease, and "with an anxiety natural under such circumstances, she felt a desire for an entire change in her medical attendants. Sir Henry [Halford] and Dr. Baillie were at her own request substituted in place of her former physicians. . . ."[10]

In his autobiographical memoir, Baillie commented: "Altho I was very sensible of the high honour which was done me upon this occasion, yet I wish'd at the time that I had not received this Command. My business was then so extensive as to be unmanageable, and I thought that my difficulties would be much increased by an attendance at Windsor."[11]

During their attendance on the Princess Amelia, Baillie and Halford and their associates Pope and Dundas prepared jointreports. One was submitted to King George and was candid; the other was submitted to Princess Amelia and was phrased in a more optimistic fashion.[12]

One day when Baillie and his colleagues were giving the King an account of the state of Amelia's health,

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[9] William Munk, The Life of Sir Henry Halford, Bart.(London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895), pp. 138-139.

[10] Ibid., p. 139.

[11] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," pp 17-18.

[12] William Munk, The Life of Sir Henry Halford, p.139

His Majesty said to me, "Dr. Baillie, I have a favour to ask of you which I hope you won't refuse me, viz. that you will become my Physician Extraordinary." I bowed and made the best acknowledgement in words that I could. His Majesty said, "I thought that you would not refuse me, and therefore I have already given directions that your appointment should be made out." A few days afterwards when we waited upon His Majesty again to make a report concerning Princess Amelia, His Majesty said to the other Medical Gentlemen in my Presence, "I have made Dr. Baillie my Physician Extraordinary against his will, but not against his Heart." [13]

Soon after his appointment as Physician Extraordinary to King George III, Matthew Baillie was apparently offered a baronetcy, for on June 18, 1810, Anne Barnard wrote "Dr. Bayley" a very amusing letter urging him to accept this honor.

My Dear Doctor Bayley,

I write the present note from a kind & friendly feeling which you being the old & . . . friend of my Dear Charles only can justify for it would be otherwise most impertinent in [sic] me to touch on the matter to you, but I think you will forgive me for it somehow, I am sure you would if you could peep in & see my simple hearted & kind motives. Enough in apology. Within these two or three days I have been in a few companys [sic] where it was said that you have had a Baronetage pressed on you

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[13] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 19.

> lately by some very great folks. It was added that you shrank from the offer and that it was supposed you would continue to do so from your being a man who had no taste for wearing feathers in your cap. This led on to discussion about the good and ill which acrues to individuals & to their familys [sic] from having those feathers descend thru the eminence of the parent, and all united in saying that they hoped you would not refuse inflexibly, for if you did you would regret it afterwards. . . . I say no more -- was [sic] Charles here he would say, "accept Bayley" -- he is not here, so I say it for him. . . . I have now said all my little say, & "may the words which have been spoken this day sink deep into your heart & have a proper influence on your conduct. Amen". . . .
>
> God Bless you,
>
> Anne Barnard
>
> Berkley Sq^{r}
>
> June 18, 1810. [14]

Baillie, however, rejected Anne Barnard's advice and persisted in declining the baronetcy. There is no evidence that he ever came to regret this decision.

In the autumn Princess Amelia's condition worsened, thereby necessitating Dr. Baillie's continuous attendance at Augusta Lodge, Princess Amelia's and Princess Mary's residence at Windsor. In a letter to Sophia Baillie dated October 14, 1810, Baillie stated that "the Princess was a good deal worse

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[14] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 68, sides 1-3.

yesterday and is today a little better. The anxiety of the King about her is extreme. . . . If this continues long, it must affect his health materially."[15] A week and a half later, he noted: "This is a dreadful confinement for me. . . ."[16]

Some time between October 14 and November 1, Baillie's fears about the king's health were realized, for in a letter to Mrs. Baillie dated November 1, Baillie wrote the following:

> I have sat up another night, and have borne it better than I expected. There is no better account of _either patient_ [italics added]. . . . I should wish your Father [Dr. Thomas Denman] to purchase for me Haslam Upon Madness. . . . I do not wish you to send for it, because it might be declaring too plainly the state of things here. Bring the book with you. . . .[17]

In another letter Baillie requested his wife to bring Dr. Battie's _Treatise on Madness_ and Dr. Monro's comments on Battie's treatise.[18] Princess Amelia's illness and death evidently had destroyed the king's precarious mental equilibrium. George never regained his sanity; during the remaining nine years of the king's life, Baillie was frequently summoned to Windsor Castle to wait on the king.

When he was not at Windsor Castle attending King

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[15] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 57, side 1.

[16] _Ibid._, p. 61, side 1.

[17] _Ibid._, p. 66, side 1.

George, Matthew Baillie was occupied seeing patients as a consultant. Contrary to his earlier expectations, his "difficulties" with his "extensive" practice were not increased by his position as Physician Extraordinary to the king. Although the position required frequent trips to Windsor, it also enabled Dr. Baillie to enjoy short periods of relative leisure at Windsor Castle as compared to his busy London practice.

In 1813 Sir Everard Home and Dr. Matthew Baillie donated £1684, 4s. 4d. to the Royal College of Surgeons of England for the endowment of an annual oration to honor the memory of the late John Hunter. [19] The oration was to be called the Hunterian Oration and was to be delivered on Hunter's birthday at the College.

Several years later, on July 22, 1816, Dr. Baillie was appointed Physician in Ordinary to the Princess Charlotte. [20] Sixteen months later, in November 1817, Princess Charlotte died following a difficult and prolonged labor, an event which shocked the nation and which eventually drove Sir Richard Croft to take his own life. In An Address to British Females on the Moral Management of Pregnancy and Labour . . . With a Vindication of Her Royal Highbess' Physicians. . . , William Cooke stated:

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[18] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 64, side 1.

[19] C. W. G. Rohrer, "John Hunter: His Life and Labors," The Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, 25 (January 1914), p. 32. See the R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VIII, p. 21, for the Declaration of Trust between the RCS and Home and Baillie which established the Hunterian Oration.

[20] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VII, p. 46.

> Of the celebrated Dr. Baillie, who occupies pre-eminently the public confidence, and whose contributions to medical knowledge will honour his name to the latest posterity, it would be insulting to offer a defence. Nor indeed are we aware of an implication that either his conduct or that of the other respectable physician, Dr. Sims, was deemed impeachable.
>
> Doctors Baillie and Croft seem to have been in attendance early on the first day, and, in the evening of that day, the latter judged it expedient to have, at immediate command, the counsel of Dr. Sims. This, as a precautionary step, is honourable to Dr. Croft, and will ever shield him against an imputation of timerity [sic] . . . .[21]

In his autobiographical memoir, Baillie expressed a conviction that his brother-in-law, Sir Richard Croft, ". . . did all that the melancholy case admitted of and that the Princess Charlotte's life would not have been saved by any different treatment."[22]

The following year, in a letter to the Royal College of Physicians dated December 8, 1818, Dr. Baillie donated to the College his entire anatomical collection and the sum of £400, the interest from which was to be used to maintain the

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[21] William Cooke, An Address to British Females on the Moral Management of Pregnancy and Labour, and Some Cursory Observations on Medical Deportment Suggested by the Death of Her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte Augusta of Wales With A Vindication of Her Royal Highness' Physicians, Sir Richard Croft, Dr. Baillie, and Dr. Sims (London: E. Cox & Son, 1817), pp. 40-41.

[22] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 18r.

collection in proper order.[23]

During these, the later years of his life, Dr. Baillie continued in his medical practice and still journeyed to to Windsor to attend King George III. On January 29, 1820, he stood by while the demented king passed away.

> My Dearest Sophy,
>
> Our good & venerable King died last night about half past eight o'clock. I was at his bedside almost the whole day and witnessed a most awful & mournful scene. It has been thought right that Dr. Robert Willis and I should remain till tomorrow morning. . . .
>
> I am always, My Dearest Sophy,
> Yours most affectionately,
> M. Baillie
>
> Windsor Castle
> Sunday, Jan. 30, 1820.[24]

In 1821, Baillie was offered the position of First Physician to the Queen. In a letter to the Lord Chamberlain, R. K. Craven, dated January 25, 1821, Dr. Baillie expressed his appreciation of the Queen's "condescension" but stated:

> I wish, however, after the example of the late Dr. Heberden upon the accession of His late Majesty to the throne, to decline holding any medical appointment at Court. I

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[23] See The Register Book of the Royal College of Physicians of London: 1817-1825, Vol. XX, pp. 49-50, 52-53, 57.

[24] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. III, p. 68.

> shall, however, at all times be most ready to give my Professional Services to the Queen when required, as I have done hitherto, without any appointment.[25]

During the summer of 1823, Dr. Baillie suffered from and attack of tracheitis. He retired to Tunbridge Wells without obtaining significant relief. On July 8, in a letter to his friend and colleague, Sir Henry Halford, he commented on the state of his health: "My cough is better, but still continues severe. My appetite is not improving. I shall therefore return to town early next week that I may see more of you before you leave town."[26]

Fourteen days later, Baillie had returned to his Cavendish Square residence and Halford had left London for Wistow. Writing to Halford, Baillie remarked:

> I have now been in London a week and propose to set off for Gloucestershire by very easy journeys. I am on the whole a very little better than when I saw you in London. My cough is less frequent, and I am perhaps a little less listless. I have no appetite whatever, but my tongue is rather less furred, and once or twice I have ate [sic] my dinner with rather less reluctance. The same plan of medicine has been continued by Maton since you left town. When I have been two or three days in Gloucestershire I shall write to you again. . . .[27]

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[25] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. VIII, p. 3, bottom letter.

[26] William Munk, The Life of Sir Henry Halford, p. 71.

[27] Ibid.

Baillie retired to his country estate, Duntisbourne, near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. His health continued to deteriorate.

Duntisbourne, Saturday, September 20th

My Dear Sir Henry,

I have within these few days become so very much worse, that, if not very inconvenient to you, I should be glad to see you at my house. Dr. Baron of Gloucester, who is in regular attendance, and I never knew a more skillful and kind-hearted man, will meet you at my house if you are able to come.

Believe me, dear Sir Henry
Yours most sincerely,
M. Baillie

As a postscript, I [William Hunter Baillie] am desired by Dr. Baron to inform you of some of the symptoms which at present exist. There is swelling of the left foot and hand, and at times considerable confusion of intellect. The pulse is seldom under 100, frequently more. The tongue and fauces have been frequently covered with aphthae, and the exhaustion of strength and emaciation increase rapidly. The aversion to food is not so great as it has been, but there is nothing taken with any relish, and what has been taken for a long time past seems in no respect to have nourished the body. The affection of the trachea seems nearly removed, and saving occasional tightness and wander pains about the chest, the organs of respira-

tion are perfectly free. The foregoing detail will sufficiently show how urgent the case is, and how needful it is to afford any relief that may be administered as speedily as possible.

W[illiam] H[unter] Baillie.[28]

Sir Henry Halford did not arrive in time, for Baillie died on September 23, and was subsequently buried in the church-yard at Duntisbourne Abbot near Cirencester.

By his will, he bequeathed to the Royal College of Physicians his medical library, the copper plates of the illustrations for The Morbid Anatomy, and £4000 if his son died without issue. He also bequeathed £300 to the Society for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of Medical Men, of which he was president. According to Pettigrew, his total assets were valued at approximately £80,000.[29] In a codicil, Baillie requested that the introductory lecture to his course of anatomy, the Gulstonian Lectures which he delivered in 1794, and some observations which he had made on various diseases be printed in a limited edition of 150 and distributed to his friends.[30] This volumn, Lectures and Observations on Medicine, was printed in 1825.

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[29] Thomas Pettigrew, Medical Portrait Gallery. Biographical Memoirs of the Mosts Celebrated Physicians, Surgeons, Etc. Etc. Who Have Contributed to the Advancement of Medical Science)London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1838?), II, p. 9.

[30] Matthew Baillie (posthum.), Lectures and Observations on Medicine, pp. v-vi.

CHAPTER V

AFTER MATTHEW BAILLIE

The news of Dr. Baillie's death at Duntisbourne prompted numerous expressions of sorrow and deep regret from many of his professional associates. At the annual meeting of the Royal Society of London on November 30, 1823, Sir Humphry Davy, the President, delivered the following panegyric.

> It is difficult in speaking of those with whom we have been connected by ties of friendship, whom we have admired and reverenced, to be strictly impartial; yet I believe that the merits of Dr. Baillie can hardly be estimated too highly, even by those who had the warmest feelings of affection for him.
>
> Whether considered as a physician or as a man, his talents and his virtues were alike distinguished. His works show the accuracy and clearness of his judgment, his minuteness of observation, and his acuteness in referring facts to their true causes, amidst the complicated phenomena presented by diseased organs. Whoever heard him give his opinion in the council of the Royal Society, was struck by the clearness and simplicity of his details, and the happy manner in which he caught the relations, and explained the nature of a scientific subject, in which he was interested.
>
> Those who have seen him by the bed-side of the sick, well know the kindness of his nature, the deep interest

> that he took in the sufferings and danger of his patient; and will above all estimate the nobleness and disinterestedness of his conduct.
>
> An honour to his profession in public life, he was most amiable in his intimate social relations and domestic habits. No man was ever freer from an taint of vanity or affectation. He encouraged and admired every kind of talent, and rejoiced in the success of his contemporaries. He maintained amidst courts the simplicity and dignity of his character. His greatest ambition was to be considered as an enlightened and honourable physician. His greatest pleasure appeared to be in promoting the happiness and welfare of others.[1]

Approximately a month later, on December 22, 1823, Sir Henry Halford, President of the Royal College of Physicians, eulogized his departed friend and close professional associate in an address to the members of the College.

> The same principles which guided Dr. Baillie in his private and domestic life, governed his public and professional behavior. He was kind, generous and sincere. His purse and his personal services were always at the command of those who could prefer a proper claim to them; and every branch of the profession met with equal attention. Nay, such was his condescension that he often incurred great inconvenience to himself, by his punctual observance

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[1] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. III, p. 119, sides 1-2.

of appointments with humblest practitioners.

In consultation he was candid and liberal in the highest degree; and so industriously gave credit to the previous treatment of the patient (if he could approve of it), that the physician who called him in never failed to find himself in the same possession of the good opinion of the family, as he was before the circumstances of the case had made a consultation necessary.

Before his time, it was not usual for a physician to do much more than prescribe remedies for the malady, and to encourage the patient by such arguments of consolation as might present themselves to humane and cultivated minds. But as the assumed gravity and outward signs of the profession were now considered obsolete customs, and were, by general consent, laid aside by the physicians, and as a more curious anxiety began to be observed on the part of the patient to learn everything connected with his complaint, arising naturally from the improved state of general knowledge, a different conduct became necessary in the sick-room. The innovation required by the spirit of modern times never could have been adopted by any one more fitted by nature and inclination to carry it into effect than by Dr. Baillie. [2]

Not all the accounts of his character and professional abilities were as unstintingly gracious and flattering as those of Sir Humphry Davy and Sir Henry Halford. In the London Medical

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[2] William Munk, The Life of Sir Henry Halford, pp. 74-76.

Repository, Monthly Journal, and Review, James Copland set out to write a "fair estimate" of Baillie's professional character. The result of his efforts was one of the two most critical assessments made of Baillie. In writing about Baillie's therapeutic abilities, Copland remarked:

> As a Practitioner, he was, in our opinion, timid, and sceptical of the influence of medicine, in many diseases, to a very blameable extent. This scepticism . . . evidently proceeded from a want of proper knowledge of the operation of medicines on the animal economy, and from an inability of adapting them, according to their known operation, to the nature of the derangement inferred at the time of prescribing them. In the earlier part of his practice, his prescriptions were often unchemical, and one ingredient was frequently combined with another possessing opposite virtues, and calcuated to fulfil opposite intentions. As his experience, however, advanced, this evil was, in great measure, avoided, but he fell into one but one degree less . . . Nature was too often allowed by him to follow her own course, when she might have been directed or controlled with advantage. [3]

Baillie himself apparently was cognizant of his own lack of resourcefulness in therapeutics, for he is said to have stated that while he was better able to diagnose a patient's illness

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[3] James Copland, "An Account of Dr. Baillie's Professional Character," London Medical Repository, Monthly Journal, and Review, 20 (July-December 1823), p. 524.

than most of his fellow physicians he knew no more of therapeutics than they.[4]

In The Gold-Headed Cane, William Macmichael's assessment of Baillie's therapeutic knowledge probably is more accurate and more charitable.

> . . . In the treatment of disease, he was not fertile in expedients, but aimed at the fulfillment of a few leading indications, by the employment of the simplest means; if these failed, he was often at a loss what to do next, and had not the talent for which some are distinguished of varying the prescription every day, so as to retain the confidence and keep alive the expectation of the patient . . . which was perhaps a defect in the practice of his profession.[5]

In view of the limited number of effective agents available in the early nineteenth century, Dr. Baillie's lack of "talent" in compounding and altering his prescriptions can easily be ascribed to a lack of confidence in the efficacy of most of the agents. As a shrewd and careful clinical observer, Baillie must have stood by helplessly on numerous occasions and watched the inexorable progress of diseases which were simply not amenable to successful treatment with the therapeutic agents then available. It must be noted, however, that if Baillie ever

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[4] James Wardrop, The Works of Matthew Baillie, I, pp. xl-xli.

[5] (William Macmichael), The Gold-Headed Cane, p. 159.

experienced these doubts, he never expressed them in writing. James Wardrop stated that when Baillie ". . . perceived certain and irremediable change sic in disease, or when they had a fatal character from their commencement, he would merely attempt to palliate, whilst a practitioner not possessing his accurate knowledge, would have made fruitless efforts to cure the disease." [6]

Copland also criticized Baillie's reliance on experience and facts rather than theory and attributed this dependence to the ". . . nature of his abilities which . . . were not of a kind which were capable of seizing the nicer distinctions of diseased actions and appreciating its remoter causes and relations -- a faculty indispensably requisite to profound pathology and to philosophical inquiry." [7] Copland felt that total reliance on facts to the exlucsion of theory in the treatment and diagnosis of disease was a ". . . dangerous species of mental indolence most inimical to the advancement of medical science. . . ." [8] It is, however, this dedication to fact, experience and careful observation that constituted Matthew Baillie's genius, for his was assuredly not a creative talent. Contrary to Copland's viewpoint, the ability of physicians and surgeons to examine theory in the light of experience has pro-

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[6] James Wardrop, The Works of Matthew Baillie, I, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

[7] James Copland, "An Account of Dr. Baillie's Professional Character." London Medical Repository, Monthly Journal and Review, 20, p. 524.

[8] Ibid., pp. 524-525.

bably contributed more to the advancement of medical knowledge than blind adherence to theory.

In a short biographical note in The Asclepiad, Baillie's other detractor, Benjamin Ward Richardson, portrayed him not only as a man who rode the coat-tails of the Hunters, Pitcairn, Warren, and Denman to success but also as an avaricious man who abandoned the anatomical lectures for "the chance of making a larger income at the bedside. . . ." [9] Once Baillie became established, Richardson continued, "fees flowed in to him like a tide, and he who originally cared, or seemed to care, nothing for filthy lucre appeared, with this flow of fortune, to be bent on nothing so much as in adding to his store." [10] Richardson offered no documentation for this opinion but simply stated that "perhaps there were other, and it is only fair to say there were other, impulses in his heart." [11]

As has already been noted (p. 54), Baillie, for reasons of health, was forced to limit his practice to consultations. He also restricted himself to calls within a certain distance of London, for in a letter to a Doctor Fowler dated July 13, 1808, he remarked:

> My Engagements in Town are so numerous that I am very often not able to visit a Patient even at the distance of Kensington or Chelsea, and therefore I cannot undertake to visit Lady Calder at a greater distance, more especially as the nature of her case would require

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[9] Benjamin Ward Richardson, The Asclepiad, II, p. 249.

[10] Ibid., pp. 249-250.

[11] Ibid., p. 250.

both frequent visits and long conversations.[12]

Not on did he try to limit his practice but he also did not **rigidly** exact his fees nor did he accept fees from those whom he felt could not afford to pay him. In the Hunter-Baillie Collection, there is a letter from W. G. Judson of Trinity College, Cambridge, requesting Baillied to accept a fee for his professional services.[13] Consequently, it is difficult to see on what basis Richardson arrived at his opinion.

In his private life, as Sir Henry Halford stated (see p. 68), "his purse and his personal services were always at the command of those who could prefer a proper claim to them." For several years his sisters Agnes and Joanna lived at his home. After his sisters moved to Hampstead, Baillie still contributed to their support, as is indicated by a letter to Joanna dated November 22, 1819.

> My Dear Joanna,
>
> I cannot be satisfied without bearing a share at least in the expense of your new Lease. Agnes and you must allow me to pay One Hundred Pounds towards it, and I can not take a refusal without being hurt.
>
> I am always yours and Agnes's most affectionate brother.
>
> M. Baillie
>
> Lower Grosvenor Street
> Novr 22- 1819.[14]

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[12] R.C.S, H.B.C., Vol. VIII, p. 13, side 1.

[13] Ibid., p. 22.

[14] Ibid., Vol. II. p. 36.

His generosity to his family, friends, and various charitable societies was certainly not that of an avaricious man. In his account book may be found the following entries:

Oct. 30, 1814.	My sisters.	£300
July 4, 1815.	For the Widows & Orphans of the soldiers Slain at Waterloo.	£31, 10s.
Oct. 22, 1815.	My sisters.	£300
March 22, 1816.	Parish new school	£10, 10s.
Dec. 26, 1816.	Poor of St. Georges	£21
Dec. 26, 1816.	My sisters.	£300
Feb. 12, 1817.	Lent to Bishop of Kildare	£3000
June 26, 1817.	Lent to John Bell	£100
Aug. 18, 1817.	Lent to Mrs. Hunter	£50
Oct. 15, 1817.	To my sisters	£300
Oct. 15, 1817.	To Capt. Milligan [son-in-law]	£500
Oct. 15, 1817.	To Major Hunter	£37
Jan. 21, 1817.	Mendicity subscription.	£5, 5s.
Dec. 29, 1818.	Robert Milligan	£500
July 14, 1818.	Burns's monument.	£5, 5s.

In the succeeding years, Baillie continued to support his sisters and his son-in-law and to contribute to charities such as Westminster Hospital, the Society for the Destitue, Reverend Hamilton's Dispensary, the Fund for Scotch Emigrants, the Refuge for the Houseless, the Young Artist's Benevolent Fund, the Poor Irish, Suffers in Syria, and numerous others.[15]

Both James Copland and Benjamin Ward Richardson were in agreement in their praise of Dr. Baillie's talents and achievements as a morbid anatomist. Copland, however, stated that "it cannot . . . be a matter of surprise that a Physician who . . . was almost exclusively engaged in the investigation of this branch of medical knowledge, under its chief promotors [the Hunters?], and who lived with, and was adopted by, Dr. William Hunter, should have his attention chiefly devoted to

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[15] R.C.S., H.B.C., Account Book entitled "Banker Book 1814," *passim*.

the study of it." [16]

In view of the fact that Matthew Baillie wrote the first systematic textbook of pathology, the question arises, what other factors beside his association with William and John Hunter influenced Baillie's interest in and approach to morbid anatomy?

As a youth, Matthew Baillie had demonstrated industry and application of unusual dimensions. He did not, however, possess a creative or inventive mind like his sister Joanna Baillie or his uncle John Hunter.

He arrived in London at a time when the main intellectual focus of medicine was on the "manner of working of the animal body." [17] His uncle William was the leading obstetrician and anatomical instructor in London who devoted thirty years of his life to the study of the gravid uterus and laid the foundation of modern knowledge or placental anatomy and circulation. His uncle John was a pioneer in comparative anatomy and physiology and experimental morphology whose work on the repair of tendons and aneurysms made him the father of experimental pathology and whose descriptions of shock, phlebitis, pyemia, intussusception, inflammation, gun-shot wounds, and surgical vascuar disease made him the father of surgical pathology. [18]

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[16] James Copland, "An Account of Dr. Baillie's Professional Character," London Medical Repository, Monthly Journal, and Review, 20, p. 523.

[17] Charles Singer & E. A. Underwood, A Short History of Medicine (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd. ed., 1962). p. 168.

[18] Fielding H. Garrison, An Introduction to the History of Medicine, pp. 346-347.

William C. Cruikshank, William Hunter's assistant at the Great Windmill Street School, was also an active investigator in the field of physiology (see p. 30).

In the course of their investigations, the Hunters and Cruikshank undoubtedly saw, described, and taught their pupils much that would be classified today as pathological physiology and anatomy. Their approach, however, appear to have been directly primarily to the study of function. It is likely that his teachers' studies in pathological anatomy and physiology had a significant effect on Baillie's subsequent course, but he never made specific reference to it.

Matthew Baillie, therefore, began his medical education at a period when the main intellectual current of medicine was shifting from physiology to pathology, just as the current had shifted from anatomy to physiology during the latter half of the seventeeth century.

Under the tutelage of his uncle William, Baillie developed and refined his ability to observe and assess accurately and to discourse clearly and succinctly on the salient features of a subject. Subsequently, this ability helped him to achieve success as a lecturer and as a consultant.

Although Baillie himself never mentioned what authors he had read (other than Morgagni), it is apparent from his introductory lecture to the Great Windmill Street course of anatomy that he was well read in anatomy. In the lecture, he demonstrated knowledge of the works of Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Vesalius, Servetus, Columbus, Harvey, Aselli, the Hunters, Hewson, and Cruikshank, as well as acquaintance with Erasistra-

tus, Herophilus, Avicenna, Malpighi, Leeuwenhoeck, De Graaf, and others.[19] In his own personal library he had copies of Théophile Bonet's Sepulchretum Anatomia Practica (Geneva, 1679), Hieronymus David Gaub's Institutiones Pathologiae Medicinalis (Leyden , 1763), Giovanni Battista Morgagni's De Sedibus et Causis Morborum (Venice, 1761), and Joseph Lieutaud's Historia Anatomico-Medica (Paris, 1767).[20]

In addition to a rather wide exposure to the literature of anatomy and pathology, Matthew Baillie had the use of Dr. William Hunter's fine collection of anatomical preparations which contained many specimens exhibiting pathological alteration of structure. He also ". . . observed with much attention the morbid appearance in the numerous Bodies which were brought to the Dissecting Room, as well as in the Bodies which were examined at St. Geroge's Hospital. . . ."[21] By virtue of his association with William Hunter and John Hunter and his position at a major London hospital, Baillie was exposed to a large amount of anatomical and pathological material.

Baillie stated in the preface to his Morbid Anatomy in 1793 the reasons which led him to publish this work.

> Any works explaining morbid structure which I have seen, are very different in their plan from the present: they either consist of cases containing an account of

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[19] Matthew Baillie (posthum.), Lectures and Observations on Medicine, pp. 1-42.

[20] Royal College of Physicians of London, "Catalogue of the Medical Library of the late Matthew Baillie, M.D. and left by him to the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1823."

[21] R.C.S., H.B.C., "Some Short Memoranda," p. 20.

> diseases and dissections collected together in periodical publications, without any natural connection among each other; or consist of very large collections of cases, arranged according to some order. In some of these periodical works, the diseased structure has been frequently expalined with a sufficient degree of accuracy, but in all the larger works it has been often described too generally. The descriptions too of the principal diseased appearances have been sometimes obscured, by taking notice of smaller collateral circumstances, which had no connection with them or the diseases from whence they arose. Both of these faults even too frequently occur in the stupendous work of Morgagni de Causis et Sedibus Morborum, upon which, when considered in all its parts, it would be difficult to bestow too high praise: besides, the bulk of these very large collections prevents them from being generally in the possession of practitioners, and also render then [sic] more difficult to consult. [22]

In contradistinction to earlier works, the accounts of the morbid alterations of the pericardium, heart, thoracic cavity, lungs, posterior mediastinum, peritoneal cavity, stomach, intestines, liver, gall-bladder, spleen, pancreas, kidneys and renal capsules, bladder, seminal vesicles, prostate gland, urethra, testes and spermatic cords, uterus, ovaria, Fallopian tubes, vagina, external genitalia, and brain and meninges were arranged in a systematic fashion". . . very much in the same

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[22] Matthew Baillie, The Morbid Anatomy (1793), pp. vi-viii.

manner as if . . . describing natural structure. . . ."[23] The descriptions in The Morbid Anatomy were based on observations made by Baillie on specimens which he had seen and were limited to the structure under consideration. Occasional comments on the frequency and etiology of the changes were also included. He referred the reader to Bonet, Morgagni, Lieutaud or others regarding conditions which he had not observed himself.

> Hydatids* have occasionally been found adhering to the heart; but I have myself met with no instances of this sort. They do not appear to be of the same kind in every part of the body; but their nature will be explained particuarly, when I come to describe the diseased appearances of the liver and kidneys. . . .
> *See Morgagni, Epist. XXV. Art. 15.[24]

The product of his labors was concise and easily read. Several passage are reproduced to illustrate the clarity of exposition and the ease of understanding which Baillie achieved in his book.

> Part of the lungs is occasionally converted into a bony substance, but this is a very rare disease. The small vessels disposed through the substance of the lungs under such circumstances separate bony matter from the blood. In the only instance which I have known of the complaint, the process would appear to have been rapid. There was

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[23] Ibid., p. viii.

[24] Ibid., p. 32.

great difficulty of breathing before the person died, but this difficulty of breathing had begun for a very few weeks. Each lung was undergoing the same process, which had made considerable advancement. In the particular case to which I allude there had been a very strong disposition to form bone in the constitution. A very large bony tumour had been formed round one of the knees of this person; and very soon after the knee and leg were removed by amputation, the difficulty of breathing began, which was occasioned by a part of the lungs being converted into bone. Here was a transferance of this peculiar disease from an external to an internal part . . . .[25]

The cartilgaginous rings of the trachea occasionally become ossified, although this is not a very frequent appearance. The change is so natural from cartilage into bone, that we should be led to expect it more commonly. When the ossification is inconsiderable, the function of the trachea will hardly be affected, but where the rings are entirely ossified, the flexibility of the trachea must be lessened, and its cavity will not admit of being so much contracted as in the healthy state, by the action of the muscular fibres, which form a part of its structure . . . .[26]

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[25] _Ibid_., pp. 52-53.

[26] _Ibid_., pp. 58-59.

The clarity of the second passage may be contrasted with a passage of similar content from Benjamin Alexander's translation (London, 1769) of Morgagni's De Sedibus et Causis Morborum.

> For I have observ'd, as I pursu'd the bronchia in dissections, that their cartilages sometimes became bony, even before that person was far advac'd in age. For that the lungs 'grow hard, and become earthy,' in decrepid ages, Aristotle knew (g); but Littré (h), and Vieussens (i), the first in a man of eightly years old, and the other in a matrion some years older, have written, that some, or all, the annular cartilages of the bronchia were become bony; although neither of them has expressly told, whether they meant, when they said annuli, to have it understood, that these appearances were found deep within the lungs. I, however, have seen it, and still shew it, even in the most internal parts of the lungs, where, in the place of every annulus, many little bits of cartilage are naturally connected together. . . .[27]

In addition to its systematic organization and clarity, Baillie's Morbid Anatomy was written in English. At the time of its publication, there was only a small handful of books on

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[27] John Baptist Morgagni, The Seats and Causes of Diseases (Trans. by Benjamin Alexander, London: Millar & Codell, 1769), p. 370, Letter xv art. 18. From the facsimile published by the Hafner Publishing Co., New York, 1960, under the auspices of the New York Academy of Medicine.

pathology in English. There was Benjamin Alexander's translation of Morgagni's *De Sedibus et Causis Morborum* (London, 1769), C. Erksine's translation of Gaub's *Institutiones Pathologiae Medicinalis* (Edinburgh, 1778), Andrew Duncan Sr.'s *Heads of Lectures on Pathology* (Edinburgh, 1782), and Samuel Clossy's *Observations on Some of the Diseases of the Parts of the Human Body. Taken Chiefly from the Dissections of Morbid Bodies* (London, 1763).

The Morbid Anatomy included descriptions of carcinoma and tuberculosis of various organs, pericarditis, pericardial effusion, ventricular aneurysm, aortic aneurysm, calcific aortic stenosis, probable rheumatic aortic stenosis, hypoplastic right ventricle and pulmonary artery with pulmonic stenosis and patent foramen ovale and ductus arteriosus, probable hepatoma metastatic to the lungs, tracheitis, tracheo-esophageal fistual secondary to carcinoma of the esophagus, Zenker's diverticulum, ascites, peritonitis, peritoneal seeding from carcinoma of the stomach, gastric ulcers, ulceration of Peyer's patches, intussusception, inguinal and femoral hernias with an account of incarceration of the bowel, anal fistula, imperforate anus with recto-vesical fistula, liver abscess, probable melanosacrcoma metastatic to the liver, hepatic hydatid cysts, pancreatic calculi, renal stones with hydronephrosis and hydroureter, hypospadias, hydrocoele, recto-vaginal and vesicovaginal fistulae in cervical carcinoma, uterine rupture, uterine prolapse, imperforate hymen, brain abscess, glioma, calcification of the pineal and falx, anencephaly, intracerebral hemorrhage, subarachnoid hemmorrhage, salpingitis, hydrosalpinx,

tubal pregnancy with uterine enlargment, ovarian cysts, dermoid tumor of the ovary, ovarian pregnancy, and various other pathological entities.

The book also included some of the earlier accurate descriptions of cirrhosis of the liver, pulmonary emphysema, and 'red hepatization' of the lungs in pneumonia. Renal cysts were differentiated from the commoner renal hydatid cysts.

One of the more interesting sections of The Morbid Anatomy is the section on worms. The anatomy of the tapeworm is carefully described; the lumbricus teres (ascaris) is differentiated from the common earthworm; and ascaris (pinworm) infestation of children is briefly considered. Since this book appeared before the life cycles of the various parasitic worms were discovered and before the doctrine of spontaneous generation was discredited, Baillie was at a loss to explain the origin of intestinal worms.

> There is nothing in the economy of animals more obscure than the origin of intestinal worms; were they found to live in situations out of the bodies of living animals, one might readily suppose that their ovula were taken into the body along with the food and drink, and there gradually evolved into animals. This, however, is not the case; they do not seem capable of living for any length of time in any situation, except within a living body, which appears to be the proper place for their growth and residence. We might therefore be led to another supposition, viz. that intestinal worms are really formed

> from the matter contained in the intestines, which previously had no regular organization; but this idea is widely different from all analogy in the production of animals, where there has been any satisfactory opportunity of examining this production. The origin therefore of such animals is a subject of much obscurity, nor do I pretend at all to throw any light upon it. When the whole evidence, however, in support of the one and the other opinion is compared together, I own, that the grounds for believing that in some orders of animals equivocal generation takes place, appear stronger than those for a contrary opinion. [28]

Upon the subject of hydatids, Matthew Baillie experienced even greater difficulty in trying to explain their origin.

> The origin and real nature of these hydatids are not fully ascertained; it is extremely probable, however, that they are a sort of imperfect animals. There is no doubt at all, that the hydatids in the livers of sheep are animals: they have been often seen to move when taken out of the liver, and put into warm water; and they retain this power of motion, for a good many hours after a sheep has been killed. There is a great analogy, however, between hydatids in the liver of a sheep, and in that of the human subject. They are both contained in strong cysts,

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[28] Matthew Baillie, The Morbid Anatomy (1793), pp. 127-128.

> and they both consist of the same white pulpy matter. There is undoubtedly some difference between them in simplicity of organization; the hydatid in the human liver being a simple uniform bag, and the hydatid in that of the sheep having a neck and mouth appended to the bag. . . . The probability of their being animals, however, is very strong; and it appears even more difficult to account for their production according to the common theory of generation than for that of intestinal worms. We do not get rid of the difficulty by asserting, that the hydatids in the human liver are not living animals, because in sheep they certainly are such, where the difficulty of accounting for their production is precisely the same.[29]

Although Baillie has been generally credited with describing the true nature of post-mortem intra-cardiac "chicken fat" clot in the 1793 Morbid Anatomy, C. C. Mettler states that their true nature was first indicated by Theodor Kerckring in Spicilgeium anatomicum continens observationum anatomicarum rariorum centuriam unam . . . (Amsterdam, 1670).[30]

Perhaps the most glaring weakness of The Morbid Anatomy was that Baillie never made use of the microscope to invetigate the histopathology of the diseased structure he

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[29] Ibid., pp. 152-153.

[30] C. C. Mettler, History of Medicine (Ed. by F. A. Mettler, Philadelphia, The Blakiston Co., 1947), p. 252.

studied and described. He was undoubtedly aware of the microscope and its use since he had read some of Leeuwenhoeck's works (see p. 78); however, neither John nor William Hunter, his teachers, had used the microscope. Also, at this time, the microscope was not sufficiently developed to be useful in histopathology. It remained for the great German pathologists of the mid-nineteenth century to use the microscope in their pathological investigations.

In 1797 a second edition of *The Morbid Anatomy* was published. This new edition contained additional observations by Dr. Baillie and included some observations by Dr. S. Th. von Sömmering, Professor of Medicine in the University of Mayence, who had translated and annotated *The Morbid Anatomy* into German in 1794. Dr. Baillie added an account of associated symptoms at the end of each chapter.

> In describing the symptoms of diseases, I have not entered into a minute detail. *This belongs properly to the plan of a writer, who proposes to take a full view of any particular disease* [italics added]. I have mentioned those symptoms only which are most constant, and most strongly characteristic of the diseases to which they belong. [31]

The second edition contained a number of descriptions of disease entities which had not been included in the first edition, such as congenital absence of the pericardium, rupture

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[31] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy* . . . (2nd. ed. enl. & cor., London: J. Johnson & G. Nichol, 1797), p. xvi.

of one of the semi-lunar valves of the heart, transposition of the great vessles with patent ductus arteriosus and foramen ovale, thyroiditis, cholecysto-gastric fistula, horseshoe kidney, exstrophy of the bladder, and hydatidiform mole (which Baillie thought was a variety of hydatid cyst).

In the chapter on "Diseased Appearances in the Intestine," Baillie described lymphatic spread of carcinoma of the bowel.

> When a portion of the intestinal canal becomes cancerous, some of the absorbent glands in the mesentery generally become affected with the same disease: this is in consequence of the matter of cancer being conveyed to those glands by absorbent vessels. The glands become enlarged in size, and are changed into hard masses exhibiting a schirrous, or cancerous structure.[32]

In the chapter on "Diseased Appearances in the Brain and its Membranes," Baillie described what appears to be a case of Paget's Disease of Bone.

> It has sometimes happened, but very rarely, that all the bone of the cranium have become extremely thickened, and have encroached, by their growth, upon the cavity which contains the brain. Of this there is a remarkable specimen in Mr. Hunter's collection, where the bones of the cranium are at least three times as thick as in the natural state. They are also, in the case to which I

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

> allude, much more spongy than usual in their texture.[33]

The primary contribution of the second edition, however, was the correlation which it attempted to make between certain symptoms present in the live patient and certain morbid changes present in the cadaver. Although he was not uniformly successful in this attempt, Baillie provided some excellent clinico-pathological correlations.

> When the kidneys are inflamed, more or less pain is felt in the situation of these glands, and the pain often shoots along the course of the ureters. There is a sense of numbness in the thigh, and in the male there is often a retraction of the testicle, or a feeling of pain in it. When one kidney is affected, these symptoms are only felt upon that side. The urine is voided frequently, and is sometimes of a pale, but more commonly of a deep red colour. The stomach sympathizes with this state of the kidneys, for it is affected with sickness and vomiting: the bowels are at the same time often costive, and subject to colicky pains. There is also a general affection of the system, shewing those symptoms which are called symptomatic fever.
>
> When the pus is formed by the progress of the inflammation, it may be known by its being mixed with the urine, and this will be more distinctly marked, in proportion to the quantity of the pus.[34]

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[33] _Ibid_., p. 437.

[34] Ibid., pp. 288-289.

This description of the symptoms assoicated with "inflammation of the kidney" is one of the finest clinical descriptions in the book. He also noted that tumors which pressed upon the "thalami nervorum opticorum or the optic nerves themselves" produced various visual impairments.[35] By comparing the clinical symptoms of intracerebral hemorrhage with the post-mortem findings, Baillie concluded that ". . . the right side of the body derives its nervous influence from the left side of the brain, and the left side of the body its nervous influence from the right side of the brain."[36]

In the section on symptoms relating to the diseases of the heart, Baillie noted a symptom complex associated with enlargement of the heart which appears to be congestive heart failure. He incorporated Dr. David Pitcairn's observations that "morbid growth of the heart" may be caused by "rheumatism attacking this organ."[37]

It is interesting to note that whereas the first edition was dedicated to Sir George Baker, President of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and to the Fellows of the College, the second edition was dedicated to Dr. David Pitcairn, who referred his patients to Baillie when ill-health forced Pitcairn into temporary retirement (see pp. 45-47).

By the end of Baillie's lifetime, The Morbid Anatomy had gone through five English editions, at least three German editions, three American editions, two French editions, and two Italian editions. Dr. Sömmering, translator of the 1794 German edition, and Pietro Gentilini, translator of the 1807

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[35] Ibid., p. 458. [36] Ibid., p. 460. [37] Ibid., p. 46.

Italian edition, presented Dr. Baillie with copies of their respective editions. The letter which accompanied Gentilini's edition indicated the reception which The Morbid Anatomy had received on the continent.

Cafalonia, June 15th, 1815

Sir,

I profit by the opportunity of Dr. David Jameson's return to England to send you a copy of my translation of your Treatise on Pathological Anatomy, as a testimony of the esteem which I bear for you. I should have done this at the time of its first publication at Pavia, whither I went for the purpose of improvement, if the War had not prevented me.

I undertook this translaion in consequence of the praises which I heard bestowed upon your work at Paris by the Professor Portal, and at Pavia by the illustrious Scarpa. I have also had the satisfaction of seeing my endeavors to make so valuable a work generally known in Italy favorably received. I beg you, Sir, to accept this slight offering to your learning and abilities, and to believe me, with much esteem,

Your obedient Servant,

Pietro Gentilini.[38]

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[38] Royal College of Physicians of London. This letter is fastened to the inside cover of the College's copy of Gentilini's 1807 Italian translation of The Morbid Anatomy. It was translated by an unknown person from the original letter in Italian which is also fastened therein.

The Morbid Anatomy apparently received a similar reception in France for René-Théophile-Hyacinthe Laennec thought enough of Dr. Baillie to send him a presentation copy of his famous book, Traité de l'auscultation mèdiate. In a letter dated October 5, 1819, from Paris, Laennec noted that the principal object of the book was to make known a new method of diagnosing diseases of the chest and heart; it was also, however, ". . . à plusieurs ègards un ouvrage d'anatomie Pathologique. . . ." [39] Laennec requested Baillie to present a second copy of the book to the Prince Regent.

The success of The Morbid Anatomy was indicative of both its popularity with the medical profession and its value. It presented morbid anatomy in a concise, readable form for all practitioners of medicine and surgery and, perhaps more so than any previous work, established pathology as one of the medical disciplines. In the Medical Portrait Gallery (1838), Thomas Pettigrew observed: "examining the dead, to ascertain with precision the changes of structure produced by disease, is absolutely necessary; and to no individual of modern times are we so much indebted, as to Dr. Baillie, for calling the attention of the members of the medical profession to this essential branch of study." [40]

The year of publication of The Morbid Anatomy marks a turning point in the history of pathology. Prior to its ap-

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[39] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. III, p. 94.

[40] Thomas Pettigrew, Medical Portrait Gallery, II, p. 2.

pearance, pathology was not viewed as a separate discipline. Morbid changes of structure were noted only incidentally. The few books which were devoted exclusively to pathology were clumsy compilations of case reports and autopsies. In the half cnetury after the publication of Baillie's book, a flood of clinico-pathological monographs and books appeared in England and on the Continent.

In England, James Wardrop's Essays on the Morbid Anatomy of the Human Eye was published in 1808, Joseph Hodgson's Treatise on Diseases of the Arteries and Veins in 1815, James Parkinson's An Essay on the Shaking Palsy in 1817, Sir Benjamin Brodie's On the Pathology and Surgery of Diseases of the Joints in 1819, Richard Bright's Reports of Medical Cases in 1827, James Hope's Diseases of the Heart and Great Vessels in 1831, Thomas Hodgkin's Lectures on the Morbid Anatomy of the Serous and Mucous Membranes in 1836-1840, Robert Carswell's Illustrations of the Elementary Forms of Disease in 1837, and Thomas Addison's On the Constitutional and Local Effects of Diseases of the Suprarenal Capsules in 1855.

During this half century, Thomas Hodgkin, John Cheyne, Abraham Colles, Robert Adams, Dominic John Corrigan, Robert Graves and others published their monographs in which they described a number of clinical and pathological entities which today bear their names as eponyms.

In at least one instance, it is possible to assess the immediate influence that The Morbid Anatomy had on medicine and pathology. In 1811, William C. Wells published a clinical report about a young patient who had experienced many attacks

of acute rheumatism; this is one of the earliest published reports on rheumatic carditis. Wells stated that ". . . I began to suspect that his disease might be rheumatism of the heart, of which I knew nothing except what I had learned from Dr. Baillie's publication." [41]

Approximately sixty years after the publication of The Morbid Anatomy, Sir Benjamin Brodie remarked that this work ". . . is still the most valuable textbook on that subject that exists. Very much has been added to the knowledge which it contains by the labours of later pathologists, and the use of the achromatic microscope has added another kind of investigation to that which was adopted formerly: still, it is perfect as far as it goes; and the clearness, conciseness, and simplicity of the style, and the brief but accurate sketches of the symptoms during life, which are appended to the account of the appearances after death, have the effect of rendering it a more important help to the practitioner (whose object is to recognize the disease which come before him, and not merely to study pathology as a curious science). . . ." [42]

In his assessment of Dr. Baillie, Benjamin Ward Richardson concluded that

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[41] William C. Wells. "On Rheumatism of the Heart," Trans. Soc. Imp. Med. & Chir. Know. 3(1811), pp. 373-424, quoted in C. C. Mettler, History of Medicine (1947), p. 440.

[42] Benamin C. Brodie, Autobiography of the Late Sir Benjamin C. Brodie, Bart. Ed. by his son (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Robert, & Green, 1865), pp. 137-138.

> the reputation of Dr. Baillie as a man of science and a contributor to medical literature rests entirely on his labours in morbid anatomy. . . . After he was fairly installed in practice he added nothing to the literature of a new and original kind. His literary life terminated at his fortieth year and by what he has left behind him, on which we are alone able to form a judgment of his powers we must place him, first, as a morbid anatomist, and secondly, but quite in a secondary position, as a pathologist. To clinical medicine he added little. . . ." [43]

Richardson's evaluation of Baillie's clinical publications was accurate. They were not particularly valuable accounts when compared with those which followed. After the turn of the century, when most of his clinical papers were published, Matthew Baillie lacked the time to do a really adequate piece of work.

In "An Account of a Singular Disease in the Great Intestines," [44] Baillie described a case in which an intussusception had occurred and in which the intussusceptum was apparently evacuated per anum. Another case history and autopsy report, "An Account of the Case of a Man Who had No Evacuation . . . ," discussed a patient with obstipation secondary to a carcinomatous stricture of the sigmoid colon. A third paper, "Of Some Uncommon Symptoms Which Occurred in a Case of Hydro-

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[43] Benjamin Ward Richardson, The Asclepiad, II, pp. 256-57.

[44] See Appendix VI for the citation of this and the following Baillie articles.

cephalus Internus," described a middle-aged man who was afflicted with hemiplegia and aphasia.

Several of Baillie's clinical papers, however, dealt with significant topics. In "Observations on a Strong Pulsation of the Aorta in the Epigastric Region," he sought to point out the almost uniformly benign nature of epigastric aortic pulsation.

> From a good deal of experience in cases of this kind, I am enabled to state, that the increased pulsation of the aorta in the epigastric regions, very rarely depends on any disease of the aorta itself, or of its large branches in that place; and that this occurence is almost constantly of very little importance.[45]

In "Three Cases of Inflammation of the Mucous Membrane of the Larynx and Trachea, Which Quickly Terminated in Death," Baillie described Dr. David Pitcairn's fatal episode of acute laryngotracheobronchitis. With respect to therapy for this condition, Baillie advocated phlebotomy and opiates, and "if no substantial advantage is produced by this plan in thirty hours, it might be advisable to perform the operation of bronchotomy at the upper part of the trachea, just under the thyroid gland. This operation would probably enable the patient to breathe till the inflammation in the larynx, more especially at the aperture of the glottis, had time to subside."[46]

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[45] James Wardrop, The Works of Matthew Baillie, I, p. 22.

[46] Ibid., p. 65.

To say that Baillie added little to clinical medicine, however, is a glib judgment. In his translation of Laennec's Traité de l'auscultation médiate, Dr. John Forbes noted that Dr. Baillie had informed him that he Baillie used chest percussion frequently in his practice. [47]

An example of Baillie's use of chest percussion was included by Thomas Hodgkin in his discussion of empyema in Lectures on the Morbid Anatomy of the Serous and Mucous Membranes. Noting that the heart is occasionally pushed over to the right by a large effusion into the left pleural space, Hodgkin remarked that ". . . the unusual situation of the heart's beat induced that distinguished master of diagnostic tact to suspect for some time that there was a natural transposition of the viscera. I have been told, that the evident mortification which he felt, when the true cause of this anomaly was afterwards explained, afforded a striking proof of his general accuracy." [48]

The second edition of The Morbid Anatomy includes numerous examples which suggest that Dr. Baillie was one of

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[47] R. T. H. Laennec, A Treatise on the Diseases of the Chest, Trans. & Ann. by John Forbes (London: T. & C. Underwood, 1821), p. xxiv. From the facsimile published by the Hafner Publishing Co., New York, 1962, under the auspices of the New York Academy of Medicine.

[48] Thomas Hodgkin, Lectures on the Morbid Anatomy of the Serous and Mucous Membranes (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, & Piper, 1836), pp. 109-110.

It was more readily known [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] medi-cine, however, [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] of Laen-nec's *Traité de l'auscultation médiate*. Dr. John Forbes noted that Dr. [illegible] was informed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] would [illegible] percussion frequently in his practice.[47]

An example of [illegible] use of [illegible] percussion was included by Thomas Hodgkin in his discussion of [illegible] in *Lectures on the Morbid Anatomy of the Serous and Mucous Membranes*. Noting that the heart is occasionally pushed [illegible] to the right by a large effusion into the left [illegible], Hodgkin remarked that ". . . the natural situation of the heart's [illegible] indicates that displacement [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that to mistake for some time such cases was a [illegible] transposition of the viscera. I have been told, that the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of his general accuracy."[48]

In [illegible] [illegible] of the *[illegible]* [illegible] [illegible] numerous [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] the earlier practitioners of physical diagnosis in the United Kingdom. In describing a case of transposition of the great vessels with patent ductus arteriosus and foramen ovale, he advocated the use of a rectal thermometer to measure the "heat of the internal parts."[49] Baillie also noted that cardiac enlargment is ". . . attended with palpitations. . . . which may not only be felt by the hand, when applied to the left side, but may often be perceived by the eye. . . ."[50] He also palpated for the spleen beneath the left costal margin and observed that manipulation of the cervix produces pain in pelvic inflammatory disease.

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[47] R. T. H. Laennec, *A Treatise on the Diseases of the Chest*, Transl. by John Forbes (London: T. & G. Under-wood, 1821), p. [illegible]. From the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Hafner Publishing Co., New York, 19[illegible], under the auspices of the New York Academy of Medicine.

[48] Thomas Hodgkin, *Lectures on the Morbid Anatomy of the Serous and Mucous Membranes* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, & Piper, 1836), pp. 109-110.

In his eulogy of Matthew Baillie before the members of the Royal College of Physicians on December 22, 1823, Sir Henry Halford stated.

> He appeared to lay a great stress upon the information which he might derive from the external examination of his patient, and to be much influenced in the formation of his opinion of the nature of the complaint, by this practice. He had originally adopted this habit from the peculair turn of his early studies; and assuredly such a method, not indiscriminately but judiciously employed, as he employed it, is a valuable auxiliary to the other ordinary means used by a physician of obtaining knowledge of a disease submitted to him. But it is equally true that, notwithstanding its air of mechanical

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[49] Matthew Baillie, The Morbid Anatomy (1797), p. 40

[50] Ibid., p. 45.

> precision, such examination is not to be depended upon beyond a certain point. . . . Though such a mode of investigation might prove eminently successful in the skillful hands of Dr. Baillie, it must be allowed to be an example of dangerous tendency to those who have not had his means of acquiring knowledge, nor enjoyed the advantages of his great experience, nor have learned, by the previous steps of education and good discipline to judge and reason correctly. [51]

Matthew Baillie's abilities as an anatomy lecturer have already been alluded to (see pp. 30-32). It is difficult to assess his influence as a teacher inasmuch as there are no registers available listing the students who attended his lectures at the Great Windmill Street School. Over the fourteen-year period during which he lectured at the School, scores of students must have attended his course of anatomy; however, it has been possible to identify positively only a few of them. One was Dr. Andrew Duncan Jr., first editor of the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at the University of Edinburgh (1807-1819), Professor of the Institutes of Medicine (1819-1821), and Professor of Materia Medica (1821-1832). [52] Another student was Dr. Peter Mark Toget, lecturer on comparative anatomy and physiology, Fullerian Professor of Physiology at the Royal Institution, Secretary of the Royal Society, and occasional lecturer

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[51] William Munk, The Life of Sir Henry Halford, pp. 76-77.

[52] Dictionary of Nationa Biography, VI, p. 163.

at the Great Windmill Street School on the theory and practice of medicine. Dr. Roget, however, is best known for his Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases (London, 1852).[53] Another of Baillie's students was Dr. Thomas Young, the discoverer of the wave theory of light. Young was not a very successful practitioner of medicine; however, he was an accomplished philologist and linguist and was one of the earliest decipherers of the hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone. During his lifetime, he was a Fellow of Emmanuel College in Cambridge University, Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society, and Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution. He is renowned for his work in the field of physics and physical optics, such as the role of the lens in visual accommodation, a description of astigmatism, the Young-Hemholtz theory of color vision, the hemodynamics of intravascular blood flow, the wave theory of light, the theory of capillary attraction, etc.[54]

During his sixty-two years of life, Dr. Matthew Baillie's contributions to the art and science of medicine were both varied and significant. Although he lacked the eloquence and style of his uncle, Dr. William Hunter, Baillie was probably one of the finest lecturers and instructors of anatomy in the history of English medicine. As a morbid anatomist, his name will undoubtedly occupy an honored place among the fathers of pathology. As a clinician his practice of physical examina-

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[53] William Munk, The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London (1801-1825) (2nd. ed. rev. & enl., London: R.C.P.L., 1878), III, pp. 71-73.

[54] Ibid., pp. 80-83, and F. H. Garrison, An Introduction to the History of Medicine, pp. 350-351.

tion and of post-mortem examination of his patients ushered in the era of the clinician-pathologist. His excellence as a practitioner and as a humane physician set an example for his contemporaries and for younger physicians who were his pupils at Great Windmill Street and at St. George's Hospital. As a man he was kind, gentle, and charitable. "His was undoubtedly a case of inherited genius nurtured in the most favorable environment." [55]

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[55] R. T. Gunther, Early Science in Oxford (Oxford: The Clarenden Press, 1925), III, p. 78.

APPENDIX I

JAMES BAILLIE'S ACADEMIC CAREER

James Baillie had had academic ambitions for many years. The existence of these ambitions is first indicated in an unpublished letter in the Hunter-Baillie Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons of England from John Millar, Professor of Law at the University of Glasgow (1761-1801), to William Hunter.

> Glasgow College, Feb^{ry} 22, 1762
>
> Sir,
>
> Mr. Bailly [sic] Minister of Shotts has communicated to me his views of being a candidate for the professorship of Ecclesiastical History which is now vacant in this university. At his desire I take the liberty of expressing to you the satisfaction which I in particular should feel if he were to obtain the office. The opinion which from a long acquaintance I have formed of his abilities as a scholar would give me no room to doubt of his discharging the publick [sic] part of the office with advantage to our university and with reputation to himself. The knowledge that I have of his character as a gentleman would give me the prospect of an agreeable colleague and of one who in a private capacity would undoubtedly prove an useful member of our Society. I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed^{t} Servant,
John Millar.[1]

It is interesting to note that Millar's father had also been minister of the Kirk of Shotts, for Professor Millar was born in the manse of Shotts, June 22, 1735.

In 1772, the Reverand Baillie received a Doctor of Divinity degree from the University of Glasgow.[2] There is no further mention of the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History; however, after the death of Dr. Robert Trail, Professor of Divinity, on October 19, 1775, the Reverend Baillie's friends on the faculty at the University of Glasgow became quite active in trying to obtain this position for him. On October 25, 1775, James Baillie described the situation to his brother-in-law, William Hunter, as follows:

> Dear,
>
> The Divinity Chair in the University of Glasgow became vacant on Friday last by the death of Doctor Trail. The Election is in the Hand of the Professors. Upon this event happening Some of my friends in the University immediately went to work to secure the succession to me. Four of them Declared clearly & explicitly for me. Three of my particular friends with whom I have had the most habits were unluckily under prior engagements to Dr Wight Professor of History in the same Univer-

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[1] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. I. Letter #59, side 1.

[2] W. I. Addison. A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow From 31st December 1727 to 31st December, 1897, With Short Biographical Notes (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1898), p. 27.

sity who is a Candidate. Two more of my friends are under such obligations to a Dr. Findlay one of the Ministers of Glasgow, that if he shall appear as a Candidate (which is said he will) they must be for him: But if he shall not, they are clear for me. Several other candidates have been mentioned. But there are none of them for whom so many of the professors have openly declared as for me. Tho' some of my sanguine friends father me with success, yet I am by no means so sanguine in my expectations as they are. Nor shall I be either vexed or disappointed should I fail. Nay tho' I were certain of it, I am by no means clear if I ought to accept. My reasons for hesitating are the following.

Tho' the place is better than that which I hold at present by upwards of £110 yet the expense of living in Glasgow will more than over Ballance [sic] the odds of salary. Besides I succeed of course If I live a few years longer to the first Benificerie in Hamilton which is fully as good as that of the Professor of Divinity in Glasgow.

The professor of Divinity's business will be most laborious for two or three years till his set of Lectures are complete. They will require 6 or 8 hours hard study every day. Now I am affraid [sic] my present state of health & constitution could not bear this. For some years past I have found that intense thinking, hard studying & confinement to my bookroom for a few days together has always brought on loss of appetite, indigestion and low

spirits which sometimes go so far as to deprive me of sleep, enfeeble my mind, and render me unfit for business. Should a change of my present situation destroy my health, I should purchase dignity at too high a price. Besides I am not certain if Mrs Baillie's health which is none of the best, would allow her to live in Glasgow the whole year. All these things considered I am greatly at a loss what to do. I wish much for your advice. Let me have it by first post, because the election if fixed for the 13th of Nov^{r}. In my present state of mind I would rather be off with the matter, but my friends are unwilling to allow me and will not hearken to my objections. If after having had time to deliberate a little longer, & consulting with Mrs Baillie It shall shall [sic] appear to us both inexpedient to make the change, I shall thank my Friends & beg to be excused appearing as a Candidate in such time before the election, as that they may not have reason, after matters have gone so far as they have already, to complain of my not giving them sufficient time to take other measures after being acquainted with my final resolution.

I came here on Monday with my Son & another young Gentleman, who is under my care, to enter them to the classes. When I came I found my friends busy for me. It gave me pain to be in Glasgow at such a time. I would much rather not have appeared in Town. There is another circumstance which hurts my delicacy. The keeness [sic] of some of the professors for me may be ascribed to a Cause which I shall not mention but which you will easily guess.

I am, Dear Sir,
Most affectionately yours,
Ja^{s} Baillie

Hamilton
25 Oct^{r} 1775.[3]

It is difficult to interpret to what "cause" the Reverend Baillie attributed "the keeness of some of the professors." It is conceivable that some of the professors were seeking William Hunter's favor by supporting his brother-in-law or that they were yielding to pressure exerted by officials of the university. David Hume wrote to William Strahan, his editor, on the day of the election: "I am extremely oblig'd to you for your Letter to Professor Wilson [soliciting his vote for Dr. Wight as Professor of Divinity] . I am afraid, however, that all Efforts in favour of Dr. Wight will be in vain. It seems Dr. Hunter supports a Friend of his; and nothing can be refused him by the University."[4]

Two days after his election, November 15, 1775, James Baillie informed William Hunter by post of the results of the election.

> Yesterday, by express from the College of Glasgow I received a formal intimation of my being elected Professor of Divinity in that University. I returned an answer thanking the faculty for the very great honour they had done me & declaring my willingness to accept of the office. I will

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[3] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. I, Letter #4, sides 1-3.

[4] C. B. Hill. Letters of David Hume to William Strahan (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 308.

> be admitted about the middle of December, and begin to give lectures about the end of that month or first of January. Till which time you will continue to direct your Letters to me at Hamilton. I must begin immediately to prepare a Concio inauguralis to be delivered at my Admission: and labour as hard as I can to make up a week or two's Lectures to begin with. . . .[5]

To say that Baillie's election was due entirely to William Hunter's influence does not appear to be warranted by the information available. It is, however, undoubtedly true that William Hunter's support of his candidacy was a distinct advantage.

It is interesting to note the almost prophetic nature of the Reverend Baillie's doubts as to his ability to withstand physically the two or three years of hard work required to prepare a set of divinity lectures, for two years and five months after his election he was dead.

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[5] R.C.S., H.B.C., Vol. I, Letter #5, side 1.

APPENDIX II

THE SNELL EXHIBITION

In his last will and testament, dated December 29, 1677, John Snell bequeathed his manor, Uffeton in Warwickshire, to executors in trust who were instructed to turn the property over to a group of trustees nominated by the Vic-Chancellor of Oxford, the Provost of Queen's College, the Master of Balliol College, and the President of St. John's College. The revenues received from the rental of his property were to be used to maintain between six and eleven Scottish students in the University of Oxford, after Snell's funeral expenses, debts, legacies, and annuities were first paid. [1]

The will also provided for a probationary period of five months, during which time the scholar was to maintain himself at his own expense while giving evidence of his ability and good character. In submitting their proposals to the Court of Chacery in 1693 for implementing the terms of Mr. Snell's will relating to the maintenance of Scottish students in the University of Oxford, J. Alrich (Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 1689-1711), Timothy Halton (Provost of Queen's College, 1677-1704), William Levinz (President of St. John's College, 1673-1697), and Roger Mander (Master of Balliol College, 1687-1705) urged that this be modified.

. . . Whereas tis conceiv'd that many persons so recom-

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[1] Balliol College Library, Oxford University. Balliol College Exhibitions, p. 1.

> mended, & otherwise every way qualified may not be of Abilities sufficient to maintain themselves during those five months, & it is well known that Mr Snell did for that reason intend to have altered that Clause in his will. It is therefore desir'd that from their admission, every Scholar may receive the entire profits of his place; from the time of his or their Respective admission, reserving still to the Master, & the other Trustees the power of disallowing or not admitting them after five months Probation as the Will requires. . . .[2]

These gentlemen also requested another change which would necessitate the exhibitioners signing an oath swearing conformity to the Church of England.

> . . . And whereas tis provided by the Will, that every such scholar to be elected shall have spent two years at the least in the College of Glasgow or any other University of that Kingdom, it is desired, that they may not be capable of this charity, unless they come here undergraduates, that so by taking such oaths as are here administred [sic] to all that take degrees, they may be the more obliged to a conformity to the established Government both in Church & State.[3]

Whenever one of the exhibitions became vacant a form of notification was sent to the College of Glasgow.

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[2] Ibid., p. 2.

[3] Ibid.

To the Principal, the Professors, the Regents, & Chief Officers of Glasgow College in Scotland, The Master and Fellows of Balliol College in Oxford send Greeting.

By virtue of a Decree made in the High Court of Chancery, in Trinity Term, June the 23d in the fifth year of the Reign of William & Mary King and Queen of England, and in the year of our Lord 1693. upon and in relation to the last Will and Testament of John Snell Esqr Deceased; We the said Master and Fellows are oblig'd to give you, the said Principal, Professors, etc. notice, that there is now one Exhibitioner to be elected into the said Mr. Snell's foundation in the room of __________, who is to be recommended to us by you . . . by Letter recommendatory under your College seal: provided the person so nominated come to Reside in this our College within the space of Six months, from the time of the receipt hereof, otherwise the Nomination will, for that time, fall *jure devoluto* to the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, to nominate and elect any person, Born within the Kingdom of Scotland; and also, provided the Person so nominated by you, have such Qualifications, as are required by the said Will & decree -

Viz. 1st. That he be a Native of the Kingdom of Scotland. 2dly. Such as hath been educated in one of the Universities of Scotland, & hath spent Three or Two years at the least in the College of Glasgow, or one year there and Three or Two years at the least in some other College of

> that Kingdom. 3dly. Such as hath not taken any Degree in any one of the said Universities, but is an Undergraduate; and, with respect to his age, of Learning & Disposition Towardly and Hopefull [sic]. 4thly. Such whose Education and Principles shall lead him, to the promoting of the Doctrine and Discipline establish'd in the Church of England, being that which was chiefly intended, by the Testator's Benefaction. 5thly. Such Person as you shall judge thus Qualified, and shall think fit to nominate to us, for our approbation and admission, must bring with him, the Testimony of your nomination, under the Common Seal of your said College. 6thly. and Lastly, It is enjoyn'd by the said Will and Decree, that every Scholar so nominated by you, and elected by us, is to continue for the space of six months, by way of Probation; that is to say; as he shall give Evidence of his Behavior, Learning and Abilitys [sic], He is to be admitted or Rejected, at the expiration of the said six months.
>
> In Witness thereof, We the said Master and Fellows have hereunto, set out Seal this ______ Day of ________ in the year of our Lord ________.[4]

When the Glasgow College student was nominated for a vacant Snell Exhibition, a letter with the seal of the College was sent to the Master and Fellows of Balliol College certifying the election of the student. The latter frequently served as

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[4] *Ibid.*, opposite p. 1.

the bearer of the testimony of nomination.

At Glasgow the ______ day of __________ ______.

Whereas We the Principal Professors and Regents of the College of Glasgow had Intimation made to us on the _______ day of ________ _____ by the Master and Fellows of Baliol College in the University of Oxford that there is one vacant Exhibition of Mr. Snell's Foundation in the said College, to which the Principal, Professors and Regents of the College of Glasgow have a right to nominate and recommend; We the Principal, Professors and Regents underwritten do hereby certify you the Master and the Fellows of Baliol College aforesaid, that we have nominated and recommended in a meeting duly summoned and convened for this purpose the _____ day of _______ current, and by these Presents nominate and recommend to you ________ ________ son of _______ __________ Bearer hereof for the said vacant Exhibition whom we do certify to be a native of the kingdom of scotland and to have studied __ years in the College of Glasgow without taking any Degree here or elsewhere, and who hope will be found to be of a good disposition and Behaviour, and in regard of his standing, of good Learning. In Witness whereof we have subscribed these Presents and have ordered the Public Seal of our College to be hereunto appended and have entrusted the same _______ ________ to be the Bearer hereof to the Master of Baliol College and to the other persons

concerned in Mr. Snell's Benefaction.[5]

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[5] Balliol College Library, Oxford University. Balliol College Register: 1682-1781.

APPENDIX III

A SYLLABUS OF THE ANATOMICAL LECTURES GIVEN AT THE GREAT WINDMILL STREET SCHOOL OF ANATOMY

"This Course of lectures has now been given for thirty-six years, and till the last three years two Courses were read every winter, one from the beginning of October to the middle of January, the other from the end of January to the middle of May. But although two hours were allowed for each lecture, in a course of years the matter was found to be so much increased that it was necessary to alter the plan and to spend the same quantity of time upon one full and comprehensive Course through the whole winter. It begins the first week in October and is finished about the 20th of May; is given every day during that time from two to four o'clock in the afternoon; except for about two months, when the shortness of the days and darkness of the weather make it necessary to meet ½ hour sooner.

1. The first lectures give the history, the uses, and the best method of conducting the study of anatomy.

2. Then the nature and uses of the similar and constituent parts of the body are explained, to convey a general knowledge of the body, and of its operations in this order: blood, glands, nerves, muscles, bones and their appendages.

After which the particular anatomy is taken up in the following order;

3. The bone.

4. The muscles in a fresh subject.

5. The male organs in the same.

6. The different fresh joints in the same.

7. The viscera and female organs in a fresh subject.

8. The organs of sense and integuments on a fresh subject.

9. The brain and nerves in a fresh subject.

10. The diseases of bones.

11. The diseases of the viscera.

12. Chirurgical diseases more particularly, and the operations of surgery explained and performed upon a fresh subject.

13. The Anatomy and physiology of the gravid uterus and foetus.

14. The diseases peculiar to the sex.

15. Of pregnancy and parturition.

16. Of the disorders and management of women in child-bed and of children.

The whole comprehends a full course of anatomy, physiology, surgery, and midwifery; illustrated by a greater number of elegant and curious anatomical preparations than ever were brought together or used in any school of anatomy. The honorarium paid by students is ten guineas to be perpetual, seven guineas for attending one complete Course, four for the first half and three for the second. There is likewise a school for practical anatomy kept open and much frequented through the whole winter. Here students see everything that is going on, both dissections and all the arts of examining

diseases and making preparations; and with their own hands dissect as many bodies, make for themselves as many preparations, and perform as many opertions of surgery as they please. In this school so many subjects are dissected in the course of a winter, so many diseases examined, and occasional demonstrations of all parts of the body so often repeated, that for acquiring a substantial knowledge it is reckoned preferable to every other kind of study and to be the finishing part of education. The honorarium for this part through the whole winter is five guineas. TheDoctor has lately taken into partnership Mr. Cruikshank, a young Gentleman from Scotland, of great abilities and indefatigable industry. The advantages of this school are various.

1. The long experience of the lecturer who has now employed more hours in teaching than any man was ever known to have done, the celebrated Morgagni not excepted.

2. The great convenience of the several apartments, which were planned and built on purpose for anatomical studies.

3. But above all the inestimable treasure of preparations, and especially of diseases, which the Museum contains, and which are introduced into the lectures, such as no teacher was ever possessed of before." *

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* European Magazine, September 1782, p. 166, quoted by George C. Peachey, A Memoir of William and John Hunter, pp. 128-130.

APPENDIX IV

GEORGE FORDYCE, WILLIAM OSBORNE, THOMAS DENMAN

George Fordyce [1] (1736-1802) was born in Aberdeen and received his schooling at Fouran and at the University of Aberdeen. In preparation for entering the medical profession, he studied under his uncle, Dr. John Fordyce of Uppingham, for four years. He then entered the University of Edinburgh where he received his M.D. in 1758. In that same year he left Scotland and settled in London in 1759 after a brief stay at Leyden where he studied anatomy under Albinus. In 1759, he commenced his lectures on chemistry, and in 1764, he began to lecture on materia medica and the practice of physic.

In addition to experiments on human temperature control and on the phlogiston theory, Fordyce taught that digestion was a physiological process rather than a mechanical or chemical one.

He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a Fellow of the College of Physicians (speciali gratia), Physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, and one of the founders of the Society for the Improvement of Medical and Chirurgical Knowledge.

William Osborne [2] (1736-1808) was born in London and received his medical education at St. George's Hospital. He practiced as a surgeon for several years and was elected man-

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[1] See the Dictionary of National Biography, VII, pp. 432-33.

[2] See the Dictionary of National Biography, XIV, P. 1199.

midwife to the Store Street Lying-In Hospital in London. In 1777 he received his M.D. from St. Andrews. Six years later he was admitted as licentiate of the College of Physicians in midwifery.

In 1772 he began to deliver lectures on midwifery in association with Dr. Thomas Denman. After 1783 he lectured alone for a short period and then became associated with Dr. J. Clark. In his two publications, he expressed opposition to both Caesarian section and division of the pubic symphtsis in difficult labor.

Thomas Denman the elder [3] (1733-1815) attended the Bakewell grammar school and studied medicine at St. George's Hospital. From 1757-1763 he served first as a surgeon's mate and then as a surgeon in the medical service of the Royal Navy. After leaving the navy, he attended Dr. Smellie's lectures on midwifery and received his M.D. from Aberdeen in 1764. After having failed in private practice in Winchester, Denman became physician accoucheur to the Middlesex Hospital and lectured on midwifery. In 1783 he became a licentiate of the College of Physician in midwifery, and in 1791, he went into semi-retirement at Feltham im Middlesex.

Denman gave the first accurate description of the nasolaryngeal catarrh of congenital syphilis although he did not recognize the etiology. He also advocated induction of premature labor in women with narrow pelves.

His eldest son, Thomas, became Chief Justice of Eng-

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[3] See the Dictionary of National Biography, V, p. 808.

land, and his daughters married Dr. Matthew Baillie and Sir Richard Croft.

APPENDIX V

SOME SHORT MEMORANDA OF MY LIFE

In the Hunter-Baillie Collection at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, there is a short manuscript in Matthew Baillie's handwriting entitled, "Some Short Memoranda of My Life." The manuscript is signed "M.B." and is dated "Windsor Castle, Augt. 9, 1818." This short autobiography was probably written by Baillie while he was attending King George III at Windsor Castle during the King's final illness. This autobiograph has been edited and published by J. B. Bailey in Practitioner, 57 (1896), p 51ff, and has been quoted by D'Arcy Power in "Pathology in 1800," British Medical Journal, 4 (1900), pp. 1846-1848.

According to the Custom of the present times, it is highly probable that after my decease some short account may be written of my life, I shall, therefore, put down a few memoranda, in order that this account may be more accurate.

I was born in the Manse of Shots [sic] & County of Lanerk [sic] on October 27th, 1761. My Father was the Rev^{d} Dr. James Baillie, a man of the most respectable character, of excellent understanding, of polish'd and dignified manners, and of a highly cultivated mind. In the course of a few years he was successively the Minister of Shots, of Bothwel [sic], of Hamilton, and was ultimately the Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. He was an excellent Preacher, both when he compos'd his sermons and in extempore speaking, and was so

generally liked and esteemed that his House was very much frequented more especially by the younger Clergy who were glad to have his countenance and his advice.

My Mother's name was Dorothea, a sister of Dr. & Mr. Hunter, the celebrated Anatomists. She was a woman of excellent sense, of a mild Temper, with the manners, and very much the appearance of a Lady.

I had an elder Brother named William who died when he was a few months old, and two Sisters, Agnes & Joanna, who still survive. My elder Sister Agnes has a quick ready understanding, with a good deal of various knowledge so as to be much beyond the common level of Women in these respects. My Sister Joanna has been long well known to the world, from her writings and her genius. The characters of both are most highly respectable, and their society has been more courted than in proportion to their situation in the world.

I went to the English School at Hamilton when I was not quite five years old and remained there till I was near seven. The Schoolmaster's name was Allen, a most respectable man, and he was married to a sister of my Father. I was taught writing and Arithmetic by Mr. Telfair, who succeeded Mr. Allen after his decease.

I went to the Latin School at Hamilton before I was quite seven years old and remained there six years. The Master of the School was named Whale. He was a man of quick parts, of various knowlege [sic], and with a considerable turn for humour. He was an excellent Latin Scholar, but was not very thoroughly acquainted with the Greek, altho he had enough of the latter

language for the credible teaching of his school. I was there taught both Latin and Greek and was consider'd as a good Scholar. I was most commonly at the head of my class, but this arose entirely out of my emulation and industry. There were several Boys in the School, of better Parts than myself, but they had less diligence. When I left the School in the afternoon and went to my Father's house, the first thing I did was to prepare myself for the lessions [sic] of the next day. When this was done, I played with all the wildness and Spirits of Boys at that early age.

Before I had quite completed my 13th year, I left school and became a student at the University of Glasgow. I first enter'd the Latin and Greek classes and went through a full system of Classical and Philosophical education there in the course of five sessions. The Professors in these various departments were men of considerable eminence, were exceedingly attentive to their duties, and had the power of exciting great emulation among the students. I still maintained the same character among the students which I had done at School, and chiefly from my industry and emulation. I had it likewise very early and very frequently impress'd upon my mind by my Father, that my chance of future success in life depended entirely upon my industry and good character.

In the year 1779, when I had not completed my 18th year, I was appointed to an Exhibition in Balliol College, Oxford, by the Professors of Glasgow, and in April of that year came up to England.

I waited immediately on my arrival upon Dr. Hunter,

my Mother's Brother, in Great Windmill Street, who received me kindly, and I staid [sic] with him about ten days before I went to Oxford. He was the Relation who had it most in his power to be useful to me with regard to my future prospects, and this determined me to enter into the Medical Profession. I had no strong liking for this Profession, as happens to some individuals but I had no dislike to it, and I enter'd upon it willingly. At this time too I waited upon Mr. & Mrs. Hunter, and they received me kindly, altho there was a disagreement between him and his Brother Dr. Hunter.

After being ten days in London, I went to Oxford and remained there nearly eighteen months without interruption. I had the advantage of a very good Tutor, the Rev^{d} Mr. Prosser, now the Rev^{d} Dr. Prosser, a Prebendary of Durham, and improved myself considerably in the Classics, more especially the Greek, and acquired by reading some general knowledge. At that time Science was very little cultivated at Oxford, and I gained little in addition to what I had brought with me from Glasgow.

In order to acquire a facility and some classical purity in writing Latin, I translated, while I was at Oxford, the whole of Cicero de Officiis from the original Latin into English and back again from English into Latin. With the same view I translated in a similar manner five or six books of Caesar's Commentaries, and I derived great advantage from this Exercise. I had to [sic] some little turn for Mathematics. I could always apprehend very readily the demonstrations of Euclid and felt particular satisfaction at their arrangement

& perspicuity. Some of my Fellow Students us'd not unfrequently [sic] to apply to me in order to assist them in their Mathematics.

In 1780 I went to London in order to take up my abode in Dr. Hunter's house, and to attend his Lectures and Dissections. During this season my time was entirely occupied with attending the Anatomical Lectures & Dissections and Dr. Fordyce's Lectures on Chemistry. Dr. Hunter, I had reason to believe, was satisfied with my diligence, for the kindness of his Manner towards me and his confidence in me were considerably increas'd before the end of the Season. His manner towards me was never familiar nor warm, but it was mild and kind, and he often convers'd with me in the Evenings upon various subjects with great confidence.

During the three succeeding seasons I not only attended with great diligence to Anatomy, but attended several courses of Dr.George Fordyce's Lectures upon the Practice of Physic, Materia Medica & Chemistry. (Note: At this time the old doctrines of Chemistry were taught. A few years afterwards this Science underwent a complete change and had a new Nomenclature, so that I thought it proper to study Chemistry again. With this view I read with great attention Chaptal's System of Chemistry and wrote an abridgement of it for myself. I also read with attention some other of the most approved Treatises on Chemistry, but had not time to make experiments.) These were given with great clearness of arrangement, and contained excellent matter, but were deliver'd in an interrupted & awkward manner.

I likewise attended Mr. Hunter's Lectures on Surgery and the Lectures upon Midwifery given by Dr. Denman & Dr. Osborne, which had acquired great reputation.

While I was carrying on my Studies in London, I went to Oxford in order to keep my Terms, and I seldom remained longer there at a time than was necessary to keep these Terms.

After having attended the Anatomical Lectures and Dissections for one Season, I began to teach a little in the Dissecting Room during the ensuing season, and after the second season I became the Chief Teacher in the Dissecting Room.

To speak here of the excellence of Dr. Hunter's Lectures would be quite superfluous. He excelled very much every Lecturer whom I ever heard in the clearness of his arrangement, the aptness of his illustrations, and the elegance of his diction. He was probably the best Teacher of Anatomy that ever lived.

In March 1783, Dr. Hunter died, and it became necessary for me, in order to succeed in my Profession, to appear as soon as possible, as a Lecturer upon Anatomy. (Note: Dr. Hunter by his will left me about £5000 in Money, the small estate in Scotland, his house and premises in Great Windmill Street, at the end of thirty years from his death, and the use of the museum for thirty years. I thought it proper to give the Estate in Scotland to Mr. Hunter, as having in my opinion the best right to it.) Dr. Hunter had by his will associated Mr. Cruikshank with me in the Lectures, and

he had already acquired a good deal of reputation as an Anatomist. This circumstance together with the most valuable collection of Human Anatomy which had ever been formed in any country brought a great many students to the school next season, so that the influence of Dr. Hunter's death was less felt than was expected and in the course of a few seasons the number of students was quite as great as in Dr. Hunter's lifetime.

In the second season after Dr. Hunter's death I gave some Lectures on Anatomy in the Evening, when I was 22 years old, and in the course of two or three seasons, I gave my full share of the Lectures. When I did not give Lectures, I constantly superintended the Dissecting Room and explained during an hour the most important parts which had been dissected in the course of the morning.

I continued as a Lecturer on Anatomy for fifteen years, but as my connection with Mr. Cruikshank, who had a very odd temper, became more and more unpleasant to me, and as my business as a Physician began considerably to increase, I gave up altogether my situation as an Anatomical Teacher in the year 1799.

I must now go back a little in point of time and mention that immediately after Dr. Hunter's death I became a perpetual Physician's Pupil at St. George's Hospital, and was likewise a Surgeon's Pupil for one year. It appeared to me that Medicine & Surgery were so connected together that by knowing something of the latter, I should become more satisfactorily acquainted with the former, and in this opinion after long experience I think that I have not been mistaken.

I became a Bachelor of Arts in Oxford about the time of Dr. Hunter's death and I took my other degrees in regular succession. The degree of Dr. in Medicine was I think in the year 1789 and almost immediately afterwards I became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.

In the year, I believe, 1787, I was chosen a Physician of St. George's Hospital, and continued in that office for about thirteen years. During my situation there as Physician, I was not only as attentive as I could be to the Cases of my Patients, but embraced every opportunity of examining the Morbid appearances after Death.

In the year 1791, I married Sophia the youngest of the twin daughters of Dr. Denman, and I have been most fortunate in my Choice. She has one of the clearest understandings that I have ever known, which has been much cultivated by various reading, a very sweet Temper, and great sensibility of Heart. I have now lived with her for 26 years, and there has never been an unkind word pass'd between us, and indeed I do not know a Fault which she has. She well deserves this Record, and I give it, with every feeling of affection and gratitude. From this marriage there have been three children, the eldest James named after my Father, who died when he was a few months old, Elizabeth Margaret, and William Hunter Baillie who promise by their good principles, and the cultivation of their minds to be a great comfort to both their parents throughout the remaining part of their lives.

At the time of my Marriage, and indeed for several years afterwards I had scarcely any business as a Physician.

At the end of the first four years after I was appointed Physician to St. George's Hospital, I did not make more than £100 per annum. In the course of three or four years more, I began to feel that I might ultimately succeed as a Physician, for I was then making five and six hundred pounds in the year.

About this time Dr. Pitcairn, an intimate and very kind Friend, was siez'd [sic] with a spitting of Blood one night when he was stepping into Bed and sent for me in the morning. I shall never forget the calmness with which his note was worded, and the quickness of his appearance when I saw him. He was perfectly calm, altho he must have thought that this symptom was the beginning of a fatal disorder. I attended him while this symptom continued, and when he went to Portugal on account of his health, he recommended, without an solicitation or knowledge on my part, a great many patients to me. Dr. P. was then in the height of his Reputation & Business, and his recommendation was one of the greatest use to me. (Note: Dr. Pitcairn was a man of very clear understanding, and possess'd a great deal of that sagacity, which is so useful in a Physician, his Mind was also much enlarged by extensive general reading, and he had a considerable fund of dry humour, which render'd his conversation often very agreeable. He never published any thing in his Profession or otherwise, but if he had done so it would have been perspicuous, solid, and important.)

No considerable assistance was ever given me from any other quarter, Dr. Hunter died, before I had finished my medical education, and Mr. Hunter died when I was so young a Physician that no effectual assistance could be given me. Dr.

Denman was always very kind and inclined to assist me as much as he could, but what he could do was chiefly in his own line of Practice, and his interest was therefore almost entirely employed in advacing his other son in law.

In about an [sic] year after Dr. Pitcairn went abroad my Business began to increase very rapidly, and in the course of a few years became quite overwhelming. I was employed daily from six o'clok in the morning till past eleven o'clock at night, (except a short interval at dinner) in seeing Patients and in writing answers to Letters -- and some Patients were often left unseen, whose cases were not urgent, and many were declined altogether. This state of business continued for about twelve years, and altho I was several months in the Country in Autumn, yet my health became at length very much dilapidated, and I had nearly sunk altogether under excessive Labour and great anxiety of mind. It became necesssary therefore to come to some resolution about myself, either to give up business altogether, or to circumscribe it within the powers of my Constitution. I chose the latter plan and confined myself to giving opinions, and attending in consultations. Since that time my health has considerably improved.

I hope that I may be allowed to say, for the circumstances can only be known to myself, that I never in a single instance applied either directly or indirectly to be Physician to any Family or Individual (Note: The only circumstance which can be consider'd as the slightest exception to this is that Dr. Denman once applied, without my asking him, to a Lady of

Quality, that she would request the Queen to make me one of Her Extraordinary Physicians; and this application failed.); and that I never employed any means either directly or indirectly to lessen the confidence of a Family or Individual in the Medical Practitioner whom they were accustom'd to employ. The first I thought in some degree below the dignity of a liberal Profession, and the other I though morally wrong.

In the year 1810, I was commanded by His Majesty to attend upon his youngest daughter, the Princess Amelia, in consultation with Sir Henry Halford, Dr. Pope of Staines, and Mr. Dundas of Richmond, afterwards Sir David Dundas. Altho I was very sensible of the high honour which was done me upon this occasion, yet I wish'd at the time that I had not received this Command. Mu business was then so extensive, as to be unmanageable, and I thought that my difficulties would be much increased by an attendance at Windsor. I could not then foresee that this was the beginning of an attendance, which unfortunately for the Country, was to last for many years.

During my attendance on the Princess Amelia, the king always treated me with great condescension and kindness. One anecdote I shall mention which is illustrative of this conduct, and at the same time of His Majesty's penetration into the characters of men. One day when I waited upon His Majesty at Windsor Castle along with the medical gentlemen above named in order to given an account of the state of Princess Amelia, His Majesty said to me: "Dr. Baillie, I have a favour to ask of you which I hope you won't refuse me, viz. that you will become my Physician Extraordinary." I bowed and made the

best acknowlegement [sic] in words that I could. His Majesty said, "I thought that you would not refuse me, and therefore, I have already given directions that your appointment should be made out." A few days afterwards, when we waited upoon His Majesty again to make a report concerning Princess Amelia, His Majesty said to the other Medical Gentlemen in my presence, " I have made Dr. Baillie my Physician Extraordinary against his will, but not against his Heart." Very soon after this conversation, His Majesty was attack'd with that Malady, which has lasted so long, and which there has been so much reason to deplore.

In the year 1814 [sic] I was chosen by Her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte to be Her Physician without any solicitation.

I can never forget the most afflicting scene which I witness'd at Claremont in November 1817, which not only cover'd this Country with mourning, but filled it with read sorrow of Heart. In looking back very often upon this most distressing event, I am convinced that Sir Rich^{d} Croft did all that the Melancholy case admitted of, and that the Princess Charlotte's life would not have been saved by any different treatment. It is not unusual for labours to have been much more protracted, and yet to do well by the native efforts of the Constitution, and if Instruments had been used with the same fatal event, what blame would have been attach'd to him from one end of the Kingdom to the other?

I must now go back a good many years and say something of my Publications. In the years 1788 and 1789, two

Anatomical Papers of mine were published in the Philosophical Transactions, and very soon after the publication of the last paper I was chosen a Member of the Royal Society.

In the year [1794] I completed what appeared to me to be wanting in an Anatomical Description of the Human Gravid Uterus left in manuscript by Dr. Hunter and it was soon published.

In the year [1793] I published the first Edition of the Morbid Anatomy of some of the most important parts of the Human Body. I was led to this publication because I had observed with much attention the morbid appearances in the numerous Bodies which were brought into the Dissecting Room, as well as in the Bodies which were examined at St. George's Hospital, and because I thought that the Books hitherto published upon this subject were too diffuse, and the descriptions of the diseas'd appearances were often indistinct, and very inaccurate. This Book has already undergone five Editions, has been translated into several foreign languages, and I hope has been useful in exciting a greater degree of attention to this most important part of Anatomy.

In the year 1799, I began to publish Fasciculi of Engravings in order to illustrate the subject of Morbid Anatomy upon a Systematic Plan. A work of this kind was very much wanted, but in order to be valuable, the Engravings should not only be distinct, but faithful Representations, and executed by the best Artists. This, I must, has been done, and altho the work in necessarily very expensive, yet it has already

undergone a second Edition. This work was finished in the year [1803].

Both this work and the former were dedicated to Dr. David Pitcairn as a mark of esteem for his Character, and of gratitude for his kind offices. and this dedication shall be continued, if the Public shall require any future editions of these work.

In a work intituled the Transactions of a Society for the Improvement of Medical & Chirurgical Knowlege [sic] and in the late Volumes of the Transactions of the Royal College of Physicians, in London, seventeen or eighteen of my Papers have been published. Most of them are upon subjects, which have been little investigated, and therefore imperfectly known. Two papers of mine have also been publish'd in the Philosophical Transactions about thirty years ago.

In the course of my life I have been chose a Member of several very learned & Eminent Scoieties, viz. The Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, an Honorary Member of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in London, an Honorary Member of the Medical Society of Erlangen, a Member of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of London, I have also been chosen an Honorary Member of the Medical Society of Bonne [sic].

I have lived generally on good terms with my acquaintances, and I have been fortunate enough to have many Friends. There are a few however with whom I have lived more especially upon a most intimate footing, and for whom I have felt a warm attachment and esteem. Those were at School and at the College

of Glasgow John Millar of Glasgow, at the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford, Charles Lindsay, the Bishop of Kildare, the Hon'ble & Revd Mr. Cathcart, the Revd Mr. Gregory Lee, brother of the celebrated Professor at Edinburgh, and Dr. Robertson Barclay, and in London, Dr. David Pitcairn and Dr. Wells. All of these were excellent with respect to Character, most of them highly cultivated in their minds, and some of them of great eminence. Alas! Four of them are now dead, and their places will never be supplied.

In the course of this short sketch of my life I forgot to mention that in the summer of 1788 I made a short tour on the Continent in which I pass'd through part of France, of Switzerland, of Germany, of Flanders, and of Holland. Many scenes with which I was delighted in that tour are stil strongly impress'd upon my mind.

In 1809, I visited Scotland for a few weeks after an absence of 26 years. The country was much improved, and I met with much to gratify me from the attention of my countrymen, but there were many changes in the situation of those whom I had formerly known that produced melancholy feelings, and exhibited strongly the chequer'd lot of Human life.

M.B.

Windsor Castle, Augt 9 - 1818.

APPENDIX VI

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATTHEW BAILLIE

Although an attempt has been made to compile a complete bibliography of Matthew Baillie, it is possible that some of the German editions of his works may have been overlooked. The list of Baillie's published articles is complete; however, only the journal in which an article first was published has been cited. Several of the articles were reprinted in their entirety in other journals following their original appearance.

I. BOOKS:

The Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body. London: J. Johnson & G. Nichol, 1793.

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